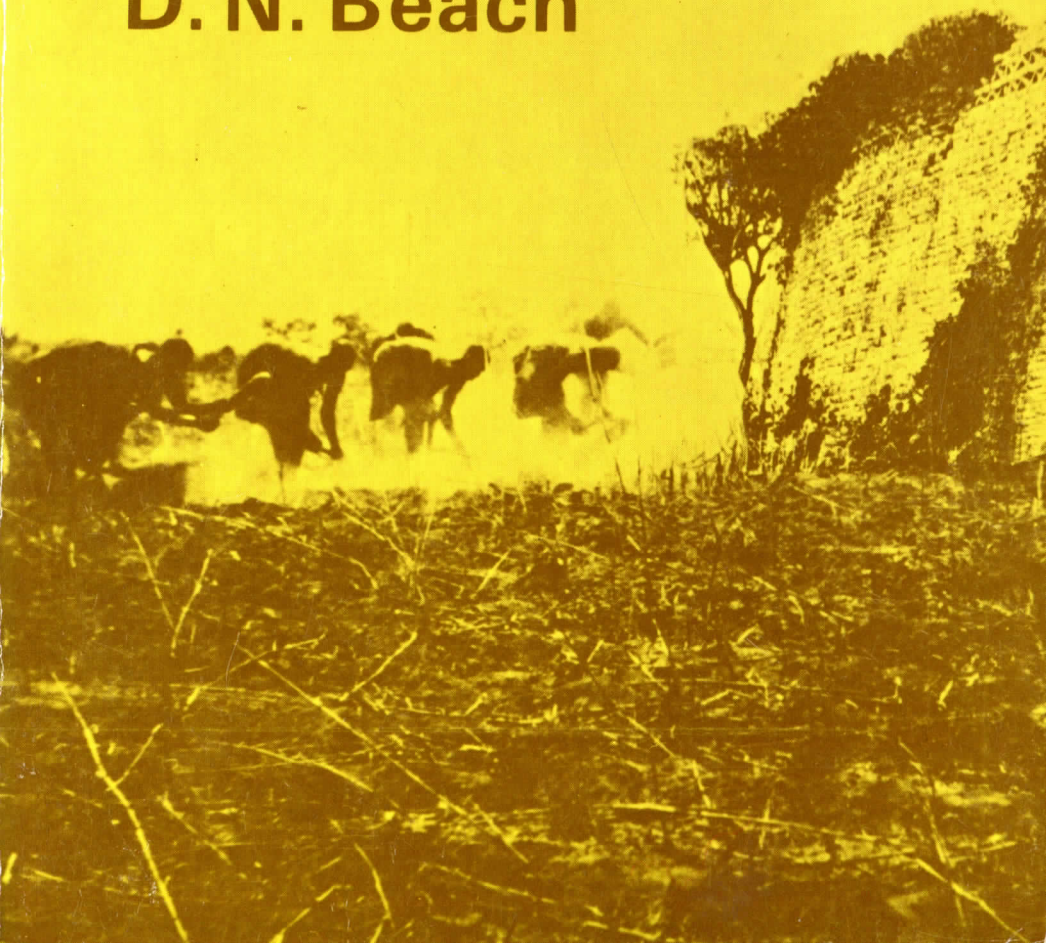
The Shona and Zimbabwe 900-1850

D. N. Beach



ZAMBEZIANA: Vol IX

A NEW SERIES ON CULTURE AND SOCIETY IN CENTRAL AFRICA

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This book is the ninth in this series. It is the result of five years research into Shona history by Dr Beach. His original work on Shona Risings in the 1890s showed the unsatisfactory nature of received opinions on Shona political history, both of that and earlier periods. This led him back not only into the history of the Shona peoples but also into the somewhat confused historiography — a subject in this book that provides fascinating counterpoint to his main argument. Equally important in Dr Beach's argument are aspects of the economic, ecological and demographic history of the Shona. The intricacies of growth, change and movement on the Plateau, that previously were underestimated and confused, are now presented in a coherent pattern. This important book makes clear as never before the outline of Shona history.

R.S. Roberts

THE SHONA AND ZIMBABWE 900—1850

An Outline of Shona History

BY

D.N. BEACH

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To the memory of
Richard Mahambayedzwa Gwabuya Mtetwa

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In the last analysis, however, such a work depends upon the people, and this book is for them.

Terminology

I have allowed myself one major inconsistency in terminology in this book: I have used the term 'Shona' throughout, even though it only came into use in the nineteenth century. The nearest historical approach to a name for the Shona-speaking people, 'Karanga', cannot be proven to have been used outside the north and east before the eighteenth century.

The Shona people never had a name for the whole of the country in which they lived. Instead, they used the local names of their separate territories. To project backwards the twentieth-century names of 'Rhodesia' or 'Zimbabwe' would be worse than unhistorical, it would be inaccurate. For, on the one hand, the boundaries that divide the coastal Shona between the Pungwe and the Lower Sabi or the Shona of the Zambezi lowlands from their fellow Shona farther west and south are illogical creations of the Scramble for Africa and had no reality in the past; on the other hand, the frequency of rebellions against the Mutapa and Changamire states makes it difficult to believe that they achieved political unity even within their limited tribute areas. Instead, the name 'Plateau' has been chosen as the simplest and most accurate name for the great plateau upon which most of the action takes place.

No reference is made to the artificial districts of today. Instead, the original Shona territorial names are used, and these are located whenever possible by reference to the most enduring names of all, those of rivers, mountains, and plateaux. To avoid confusion to the reader, I have stuck to the names used on the standard maps, even though these are often in a garbled form of Shona.

Shona political terminology varies considerably: *Mambo* can have different connotations in different areas, and the other terms such as *muchinda* can also mean different things at different times. Accordingly, I have used 'ruler', 'sub-ruler', 'house head' and the like. 'Chiefs' and 'Headmen' I have reserved for the creations and appointments of the Rhodesian Government. Hereditary dynastic titles are placed before personal names, for added emphasis, as in Changamire Dombo.

The correct spelling of Shona names has been something of a problem. On the one hand, there are regional differences today, so that the central Shona prefix *Ne-*, implying a ruler, often becomes *No-* or *Nho-* among the northern Shona. In this way, I have tried to stick as closely as possible to the correct local versions, but

with one exception: the Changamire dynasty spoke Kalanga during most of the period of existence of the Changamire state. Therefore, I should have rendered such names as Mutinhima or Tumbare as Ntindima or Tumbale, but after some thought I decided that the more modern Karanga-Zezuru versions were too well established. A much more serious problem involves time; all languages change over time, and there is no reason to suppose that Shona has not. Indeed, given the fact of the differentiation of Bantu languages over the past few thousand years, it is a certainty. One therefore has the problem of deciding whether an odd-looking name in an early document is a mis-spelling or an attempt to capture a form now lost. I have tried as far as possible to modernize such names, but where I have been uncertain I have left them.

Finally, a note for non-Shona speakers: readers of the earlier drafts of this book have often complained of the difficulty of remembering Shona names. Since they seem to be able to remember names such as Marlborough, Montesquieu, or Mecklenburg, they ought not to have any trouble with Mukombwe, Mukomohasha, or Mapanzure. However, readers who share this problem will probably find it easier to remember names if they can pronounce them. Blessed with a formidable grammar with eighteen noun classes, Shona is simple and easy to pronounce. The five vowels are *a*, as in 'part', *e*, as in 'neigh', *i*, as in 'meet', *o* as in 'store' and *u* as in 'mood'. The two tones are irrelevant here, and the few unusual sounds among the consonants — *dy*, *sv*, *zv*, for example — do not concern readers. All syllables end with vowels, thus Chikurawadyembewu is Chikura-wadye-mbewu.

Introduction

This study of Shona history has its own history, which dates from before January 1972 when I began work upon it. This book cannot be fully understood without some knowledge of what went before and of the way in which it came to be written.

One of the salient features of Shona history is the fact that the Shona people have never been united under one rule at any point in their history, a fact emphasized by the absence of any single name accepted by all the people before the twentieth century: although the Zimbabwe, Torwa, Mutapa, and Changamire states undoubtedly brought large numbers of Shona-speakers under their rule, they did not succeed in imposing a sense of common history upon the traditions of the people. Although the Shona people were undoubtedly conscious of their common culture, their historical traditions rarely dealt with more than one group at a time. Consequently, with the coming of colonial rule at the end of the nineteenth century, those who tried to investigate the history of the Shona — mainly missionaries and administrators — were faced with a sprawling patchwork of traditions of the various dynasties that stood in sharp contrast to the compact, well-documented history of the recently-arrived Ndebele. In spite of a valiant but short-lived attempt by the Southern Rhodesian Native Affairs Department to collect traditions in 1903-6, no-one attempted the task of trying to piece together a picture of the entire history of the people on the lines of the work of A.T. Bryant in Natal. The nearest local approach to this was F.W.T. Posselt's *Fact and Fiction* of 1935, but useful though this work was, it had serious limitations, not least in its reluctance to cite sources fully. Meanwhile, up to the 1940s, a few researchers continued to collect traditions, but on a completely haphazard basis. The result of this was that it was not until 1946 that a framework emerged that attempted to cover the entire scope of Shona history.

This framework — 'Tentative chronological tables', *NADA* (1946), XXIII — was the preliminary to the work of H. von Sicard, a Swedish missionary in Belingwe. To the field of Shona history he brought accurate referencing, prodigious industry, an understanding of the value of widely differing sources, and a strong sense of the environment of his own area. Unfortunately for his own work, he also brought the preconceptions of the

kulturkreise school of Vienna and an overwillingness to try to reconstruct the entire history of the country on the basis of evidence gathered around Belingwe. It is possible to see how Sicard's views changed during decades of research, but he never managed to put his overall ideas into one coherent whole before his death in 1973, although some of his lesser-known articles came close to it. The other major researcher in Shona history in the 1950s and 1960s published far less than Sicard, but took a more wide-ranging approach and became far better known to the rising school of academic African historians of the 1960s. This was D.P. Abraham, who was originally an official of the Southern Rhodesian Native Affairs Department and who served in various capacities during the 1950s. During this time he was working on various aspects of Shona history, but it was apparently not until 1958 that he began a full-time programme of research. Aided by his extensive knowledge of Shona, he carried out fieldwork in and around the Mutapa state — the fabled Monomotapa empire — which, allied to his own earlier fieldwork, his researches into the various Portuguese sources, and his reading of the work of the archaeologists, gave rise to a number of articles written or published between 1959 and 1963.

At this point, a number of interests began to converge. The Southern Rhodesian Native Affairs Department, or Ministry of Internal Affairs as it was to become, belatedly realized the need for some sort of knowledge of the past history of the Shona people who formed the bulk of the population of the country. Therefore, from about 1960-1 it commissioned Abraham to produce a 'Handbook to the Bantu Chieftaincies of Southern Rhodesia' for the benefit of its officials in the countryside. Abraham also had other resources, and was appointed as a Research Fellow in Ethno-history by the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Salisbury. At the same time, the Leverhulme Inter-collegiate Conference in African History, held at the College in September 1960, highlighted the growing interest of academics in the Shona past. Abraham's work then became widely known, and it is not too much to say that his six articles and papers produced between 1959 and 1963 became the basis of almost all secondary writing from the early 1960s to the present on the history of the Shona before colonial rule. Unfortunately, after 1963 Abraham failed to publish or circulate his work, and it is probably true to say that up to his departure for America in 1969 and up to the present his

history of the Shona was expected annually but failed to appear, although it may do so soon.

The effect of the non-appearance of his work on the parties interested in Abraham's work varied. The academics tended to await its arrival, and were in any case increasingly deterred from working in the country by a series of deportations and resignations from the University College. Not until the late 1960s did students begin theses on aspects of early Shona history in various British, American, and German universities. The Ministry of Internal Affairs, meanwhile, went ahead with an emergency programme of data collection. This was in order to aid its programme of Community Development, but in the course of it a considerable amount of information was collected by a few officials between 1964 and 1968. These Delineation Reports varied widely in quality, but they supplied a considerable amount of information or raw data on the structure of 'traditional' Shona society as it was in the mid-1960s and on the histories and genealogies of the Shona dynasties as the people then visualized them. Finally, in 1971 the Ministry of Internal Affairs agreed to a suggestion by Professor R.S. Roberts to revive its original plan. After some negotiations with the University of Rhodesia, it offered to finance a Fellowship in Ethno-history on roughly the same lines as Abraham's appointment (see *NADA*, 1961, XXXVIII, 109). In late 1971 I was offered the post for two years.

A problem involved the Ministry itself: quite understandably, it would demand a return for its money after so many years of waiting, but at the same time there was a danger that it would try to control my research and writing. Since I was determined that whatever I wrote should be for the benefit of the Shona people as a whole, and since I dislike control anyway, this was definitely a danger. In the event, however, it did not materialize: the officials with whom I dealt were happy enough to give me a free hand, on condition that I did indeed produce an history. Moreover, the outbreak of war in 1972 and the rapidly developing political situation made it certain that I would be able to work as I wished, since the Ministry was kept busy and was in any case unlikely to survive for long in its present form.

My Fellowship was originally for the period 1972-3, but it was gradually extended until September 1976, so that in all the period of continuous research and writing has taken about four and a quarter years or about the usual time for a doctoral thesis. Since September 1976 work on the book has been carried on in my spare

time as a lecturer at the University. It was obvious from the start that no attempt to duplicate Abraham's researches would be possible, even if I had possessed his linguistic gifts; instead, my work would be to summarize information already available. (It should be stated that at this early stage I was far from certain of the form that my work would take, or even certain that it was possible. I therefore spent the first half of 1972 in reading the texts on archaeology and the translated Portuguese records. The last half of 1972 was spent in sorting out existing data, mostly from Delineation Reports, on the earlier and later Shona dynasties of the Plateau.

In early 1972 I had undertaken a month's intensive Shona course at Ranche House College, Salisbury. This had shown me that I was not going to learn enough Shona to be able to conduct interviews on my own, given the limited time available. I decided to carry on in spite of this. The method of carrying on fieldwork was as follows: I would visit each of the seven areas chosen some time in advance, and select a mission from which to operate, choosing a local guide-interpreter in advance. I then revisited each area and tried to interview as many informants as possible in a long working week, recording each interview from start to finish in English and Shona, before returning to Salisbury for fresh research and reorientation. This method broke most of the rules for good fieldwork, but was the only possible one in view of the large area to be covered and the limited time at my disposal.

In mid-1973 I was forced by my timetable to stop research and get down to the problems of writing, which occupied me for one and a half years, until I took seven months of leave in order to recuperate. On my way home from Europe in mid-1975 I visited Goa, and spent two weeks microfilming documents in the former Arquivo Histórico do Estado da India. From the beginning, it had been clear that it would be impossible for me to search all the Portuguese archives — such a task had already taken some researchers several years — yet it had also been clear that the Portuguese sources were indispensable. Accordingly, I had ignored the considerable holdings of microfilmed documents at the National Archives of Rhodesia, and had instead concentrated on those documents cited by other workers that appeared to be of the greatest importance. In this way I benefited from the painstaking researches of E. Axelson, H.H.K. Bhila, A.F. Isaacman, G.J. Liesegang, S.I. Mudenge, M.D.D. Newitt and, like a traveller moving along a trail cut through the tangles of Portuguese archival

jungles by the original explorers, was able to assemble a small collection of documents that seemed to be of the greatest relevance to the history of the Shona. My Goan expedition was my only real attempt at cutting into the jungle myself, and the value of the information gained was such that it was frustrating to know that so much more existed. Finally, between August 1975 and September 1976 the bulk of the writing was completed.

This account of the way in which the book came to be written is here for a purpose. In the first place, it explains why it was felt necessary to provide a survey of as many Shona dynasties' histories as possible: this had simply not been done to any extent before. Apart from the well-known Mutapa and Changamire dynasties, a very haphazard assortment of Shona dynasties was known to historians. Consequently, most interpretations of Shona history to date have seen it in terms of the rise and fall of the Mutapa and Changamire states, with which the Zimbabwe and Khami-Torwa states were often confused. This to my mind, was a distortion: while it is true that the Shona founded four states in nearly a thousand years, it does not follow that the state was the normal political unit for the Shona people. I have tried to show that the small, independent society such as was found during the western 'Guruuswa' movements or during the great resettlement of the centre and south of the Plateau was not a debased or fragmented form of a state but a perfectly viable political form in itself. I hope, therefore, that by assembling a great deal of fresh information on the course of Shona political history this book will enable social and economic studies of Shona history to see the states in their true perspective.

A second reason for describing the actual writing of the book is that the reader should appreciate that the sources are uneven in quantity and quality. In some areas such as the centre and south of the Plateau I have been able to assemble so much information that a second, small volume on Shona dynastic histories has been written to handle it, whereas in others I have no more than an article or two to rely upon. It follows, therefore, that in some areas my conclusions are much more tentative.

We turn now to the book itself. Chapter 1, on the Shona before about 1450 is based, except for the discussion of the economy, upon the work of those in a discipline not my own, archaeology. I have tried as far as possible to follow the findings of the archaeologists as closely as possible, but I have taken liberties with the evidence at two points. In the first place, I have used the evidence

from Shona traditions of movement in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and applied them to the Early Iron Age expansion, in order to have a constant model of migration for the book. I am only too aware that other models are possible, and that fresh archaeological finds, computer analyses and so forth could demolish overnight the picture I have given. But I felt that some kind of visual image was necessary, and that an anachronistic late Shona image was better than none at all: too many archaeological texts in the past have given me the impression that the countryside was inhabited by pots rather than people. A digression: this book is very largely about population movement within the Plateau. Between about 1972 and 1975 I detected a definite unwillingness among some academics to admit that large-scale movements of people occurred before the nineteenth century in Africa. I suspect that this unwillingness owes something to the use made by South African racists of the *mfecane* to 'prove' African barbarity. I think there has been an over-reaction against this. However it has been exaggerated, the *mfecane* did take place, and if the evidence elsewhere suggests that large-scale population movements occurred, then we should be guided by the evidence. Thus I feel that Huffman's revolutionary new thesis of a southern origin for the Shona on the lines of the *mfecane* is not to be rejected out of hand simply because it involves early large-scale movements but is instead the best explanation of the evidence that has yet appeared, however much it may be modified by later findings. A second point where I went a little beyond the evidence concerns the picture of the town of Zimbabwe: archaeology does not tell us of noise, smoke, or flies, yet it is difficult to believe that they were absent. The reverent, mysterious atmosphere around Zimbabwe today is mainly due to the fact that the valley is almost empty; when eleven thousand people lived there it would have been very different.

Chapter 2 deals partly with Shona traditions. In view of African historians' long overdue rediscovery of historical method and the techniques of criticism, I doubt very much if half a chapter on this topic will satisfy some readers. A long article on this is planned, but for the time being the methodology expert is advised to glean what he can from the book itself. The second half of the chapter deals with the earliest traceable Shona dynasties of the centre and north. This involves a very detailed survey of a very wide area, naming every known group. This section on the north and centre (pp. 66-80) is matched by similar surveys of the east

(pp. 158-62, 163-71) and of the south and the Venda country (pp. 203-18). Since in most cases the political groups dealt with are very early ones, many of which vanished in the course of time, the reader might well miss this part of the book at the first reading and return to the difficult sections later. On the other hand, the description of the more recent dynasties of Chapter 8 is vital. One of the effects this book ought to have is to force the reader to grasp the nettle and to become familiar with such placenames as Bocha, Buhera, Guruwe, Mbire III, Harava, and so forth, rather than the long-known Maungwe, Manyika, or Mukaranga (Mutapa).

Chapters 4, 6 and 7 deal with the three most recent of the Shona states, Mutapa, Torwa, and Changamire. These, together with the Zimbabwe state described in Chapter 1, have been given the name of 'state' because only they had one of two important characteristics: only Zimbabwe and Torwa had large-scale public works, and only Mutapa and Changamire could send armies and exact tribute over long distances. (Possibly Zimbabwe and Torwa also had the second characteristic; I believe that they did, but we have no proof for this.) In this, they differed from all the other "territories'. It will be said that these are not definitions of a Shona 'state' so much as symptoms. I agree. But until we have far more social and economic data than is available from the sources used to reconstruct Chapter 3 or the part of Chapter 7 that deals with the structure of the Changamire state — to say nothing of Zimbabwe and Torwa — then symptoms rather than definitions are all that we have to go upon. If this book can serve as a starting-point for such research, it will have achieved its main purpose.

D.N. Beach
Zimbabwe 12 December 1977

CHAPTER 1

The Shona before 1450

i. The land and the predecessors of the Shona

South of the Zambezi river in southern Africa, the land rises to a great plateau, over three thousand feet high in most parts. On the north-west, north, and north-east it is bordered by the hot, low-lying middle and lower Zambezi valley, on the east it runs down to the woodlands that flank the Indian Ocean, and on the south-east it falls away to the great lowveld that stretches as far as Delagoa Bay. Due south lies the Limpopo river and its dryland valley, while to the south-west there is no definite boundary at all, simply a gradual extension into the Kalahari desert. A major feature of the plateau is the presence of the eastern highlands, which run across its eastern end from north to south, cutting off a triangle of high ground. There are two isolated blocks of high ground in the north-west, the Urungwe and Mafungabusi plateaux. Another range that comes into this book is the Zoutpansberg, which lies south of the Limpopo, more or less paralleling the river. This plateau south of the Zambezi is the scene of most of the history of the Shona people over the last thousand years, and from here on it will be known as the Plateau.

The climate of the Plateau is based on a rainy season in the summer, from about November to March, and a dry season from April to October, although there can be a thin drizzle in winter. The hottest time of the year is just before the rains, and the coldest part of the winter can see frost. In the sixteenth century, snow was reported in the eastern highlands, and pools often froze.[1] The cycle of the year runs from a hot dry season to a slightly cooler rainy season and then on to a cold, dry winter, and this cycle has dominated the lives of nearly all of the people of the Plateau. In general, the north and east of the Plateau is wetter than the south and west. Most of the high part of the Plateau is based on granite, and not only do some formations contain gold-bearing granite, but others have the property of breaking off their outer surfaces in more or less even sheets under the action of heat and cold. These

geological features have had some far-reaching and spectacular consequences for the people of the area. The land is deeply dissected by rivers that start in wide, shallow valleys and then cut down through the edge of the Plateau, leaving higher and more rugged ranges between them the deeper they get, until in the end the rivers and their valleys merge in the Zambezi valley, the coastal plain or the south-eastern lowveld, with only isolated mountains standing out. On the Plateau, the countryside is mostly covered with a savanna-woodland, *musasa* and *munondo* higher up, and *mufuti* and *munondo* lower down, these trees being scattered among wide grassy spaces. In general, the woods are thicker in the lower areas and in some of the highest parts of the main Plateau there are almost treeless grassy plains. The eastern highlands have various types of mountain trees and plants, while the lowlands are usually thickly wooded, mostly by *mupane* trees.

In the chapters that follow, there will be descriptions of the Shona and other peoples living in different areas and moving from one to another, but so far research has not shown in detail just which types of land were preferred by the various village communities that have lived on the Plateau, or why they were preferred. Against the questions of preference for red clays or sand soils must be set the questions of rainfall, grazing, access to running water, access to defensive sites and the ability of groups to maintain themselves against their rivals. In general, the most favoured areas of settlement were on the Plateau between 3 000 and 5 000 feet. It is much easier to point out areas that were obviously not favoured, for they either remained thinly populated right up to the twentieth century, or were occupied by refugee groups who had been pushed out of the better lands by others. One huge area of this kind was the south-eastern lowveld and the middle Sabi valley which branches off from it: a combination of low rainfall, weakly developed or unleached soils, *mupane* woodland, and tsetse fly combined to discourage settlement. Rather similar conditions were found in the Zambezi valley. Another kind of unfavourable ground was the great sandveld, which formed a large triangle in the west of the plateau; this triangle, and some patches farther east, consisted of soils that were nearly all sand, and it was not normally possible for agriculturalists to live there. An extension of the sandveld took the form of a zone of sodic soils just to the east; although sodic soils did not always form a barrier to settlement, they certainly seem to have done so in the middle Umniati valley and the area around. Yet another type of unfavourable ground

was found along the very crest of the Plateau in the centre; here, the valleys seem to have been so open and exposed to frost and wind and so short of water and firewood, that only the smaller, less successful groups appear to have settled there, even though a more suitable environment in the deeper valleys nearby may have attracted the more numerous and powerful. Finally, although the eastern highlands are generally similar in soils, vegetation, and climate from north to south, the Inyanga plateau in the north seems to have been noticeably poorer and less desirable than the areas farther south.[2]

A final point that should be stressed is that geographical unity does not imply economic, cultural, or political unity. Because the Plateau stands out as a geographical unit between the Kalahari and the sea, between the Zambezi and the Limpopo, it does not follow that its people thought of themselves as a unity, nor that they had closer links with each other than with other peoples outside the Plateau. This was especially true along a trade route, or over thinly populated areas such as the south-eastern lowveld. Thus, the north-east of the Plateau might well have much closer links with the people down the Zambezi than with the south-west.

The environment described above has been the scene of the history of the Shona and their predecessors, but they did not see it in such dryly geographical terms. The reader who can, throughout this book, visualize the colour, sound, and movement of the land will be getting much closer to reality as the people saw it. Nor was this a purely artistic experience as far as they were concerned. The greys, browns, reds, and blacks of the rocks and soils, the changing greens and shades of other colours in the trees and grasses, the differences between clear blue skies and the white or grey clouds, the noise of the wind or of thunder, and the movement of animals, birds, and wind-shaken plants or of rain and rivers all added up to a picture that could mean poverty or prosperity to the people. The growth of a plant in one area together with a soil colour might indicate a goldfield, the presence of *mupane* trees might suggest tsetse fly. The whole pattern of the winds and skies and the total feel of the weather might give an indication of whether the rains would come, continue, or end. This was especially true for the agriculturalists who dominate most of the scene, but it was also true for the first of the peoples with whom we are concerned, the hunters.

Men and women have lived on the Plateau for thousands of years, and for most of these thousands of years they were hunting

and gathering people known to us as the Stone Age peoples because of their way of making tools and weapons; the only ones who concern us here are the Late Stone Age people, who lived on and around the Plateau from about 30000 B.C. There is little doubt that they were speakers of one of the Khoisan group of languages, or that they were of the Bush physical type — in other words, that they were what are popularly called 'Bushmen', though they may well have been much taller than the Khoisan of today. They made the same kinds of stone tools and weapons as the Khoisan of more recent times farther south, and they painted the same kinds of pictures on the walls of the caves or rocks that marked their living sites. The particular branch of the Late Stone Age to which they belonged used to be called 'Wilton', but this was a very general term, and at present there is no clue as to the actual type of Khoisan language that was spoken by the Late Stone Age hunters on the Plateau.

For reasons that will become clear, we know very little about the way in which the Plateau Stone Age people lived from direct evidence, and the best that we can do is to relate what we know of similar groups elsewhere to the very important questions that must be asked. We know that they lived by gathering wild vegetables and hunting game, and that they lived in encampments, very often in caves. Even though the countryside was very much richer and more fertile than the lands in which we can see Khoisan hunters operating nowadays, on the whole it does not seem that there was enough game or wild vegetables within the 'site territory' (the area that lay up to two hours' walk from the encampment) to let the people use the same camp-site all the year over a period of years. This meant that they would have been practising a mobile economy, in which they would be using at least two living sites, with surrounding territories for gathering and hunting, in the average year. That this was probably the case can be deduced from the lack of evidence that sites were either very large or continously occupied for long periods, and from this it is also fairly certain that the Stone Age groups on the Plateau rarely if ever lived together in large groups. The Late Stone Age, therefore, was probably characterized by small groups which moved about within a given territory from time to time.

This situation was probably a fairly stable one, for a number of reasons. Firstly, although the hunters moved around, they were not haphazard wanderers: if they moved outside the territories in which they knew and understood the conditions, they would risk

danger through their ignorance of such factors as animal grazing patterns or the types of plants in the area entered. Secondly, hunters such as these were found almost everywhere in southern and eastern Africa, and it was probably impossible to find hunting areas that were not claimed by — or defended by — one group or another. Thirdly, although it is now clear that hunter-gatherers often lived a very easy life, in terms of the number of hours they put into their activities and the returns received from them, they achieved this at the price not only of moving from time to time (which cut down the number of possessions they could own) but also of keeping their population down to a level that the land could support (which entailed such practices as sexual restraint and even infanticide). On the other hand, people such as these probably had some knowledge of a much wider area than their own territory, since even hunter-gatherers could afford the odd luxury such as ochre for cosmetics, which could not be found locally. Some of them undoubtedly travelled long distances and would thus be able to collect and pass on information about the country far away. The themes of population pressure and communication that will be stressed later were thus present even in the Stone Age: although the Stone Age population was small in comparison with that of later cultures, it probably did not seem so to the Stone Age people themselves. We do not know what the actual population was, but it was probably well below the maximum that the land could carry in theory, because an unfortunate feature of the climate was frequent but unpredictable droughts. In other words, if a hunting population had increased to a point where it was using every available resource, its members would have suffered if those resources were reduced by drought. Thus, even though the Late Stone Age hunters were few in number and relatively well off, they lived in a rather finely balanced relationship with the environment around them.[3]

In view of the great changes that accompanied the end of the Stone Age, it is worth stressing here that the Stone Age people of the Plateau do not appear to have adopted either agriculture or herding before the coming of the Iron Age. Elsewhere in Africa, Stone Age peoples began to plant vegetables or sow crops, and developed special stone tools and even pottery in order to do this, but so far there is no evidence that this ever happened on the Plateau. Again, the technique of pottery-making was spread very rapidly past the Plateau at about the beginning of the Iron Age and was picked up by a Stone Age Khoisan people who later

acquired sheep and cattle and became pastoralists. These were the so-called 'Hottentots' of southern Africa, but although they were very prominent farther south, there is so far no evidence that they ever lived on the Plateau. Although their living sites were small, they were distinguished by bag-shaped pots made with lugs so that they could be carried by animals, and not one of these characteristic pots has yet appeared among the hundreds of sites on the Plateau. Even skeletons that were once thought to have shown 'Hottentot' traits are now regarded as negroid, from the Iron Age.[4]

The Stone Age was essentially a way of life rather than a fixed time, and it did not come to an end all at once. Nevertheless, there is good reason to believe that in most of the Plateau it had ended by about A.D. 1000. It is true that there are Shona traditions, apparently referring to later times, that refer to 'little people', but it will be explained in the next chapter that it is practically certain that the people referred to were Iron Age groups or even other Shona; the idea of small people could well have been borrowed from areas where Khoisan hunters did live into modern times. Certainly the Portuguese, who normally were quick to notice such things, reported no Stone Age hunters on the Plateau from 1502 onwards. Again, whereas cattle were common on the Plateau after about 1000, they rarely figure in Stone Age art. The only radiocarbon dates for Stone Age people that come after the beginning of the Iron Age belong to sites in the drylands and hills of the south and west, where such groups would naturally have remained undisturbed by Iron Age settlers for the longest time. On the other hand, for at least a while the Stone Age hunters coexisted with the people who became the next dominant group on the Plateau, the people of the Early Iron Age.[5]

The Early Iron Age on the Plateau — so called because it was sharply distinct from the Later Iron Age which followed it from about 1000 — represented both a new way of life on the Plateau and a part of a much wider movement throughout most of southern and eastern Africa. What it involved was the very rapid spread of a new economy, from the first century in eastern Africa to about the fourth on the coastline south of the Limpopo, though eastern Africa was not necessarily the starting-point.[6] A whole series of factors combined to make this economy possible. In the first place, the discovery of iron and the mining, smelting, and forging of it made it possible for people to possess effective hoes and axes. The axes were able to clear the ground, and the hoes to prepare the fields for crops. The basic crops were sown rather

than planted: millets and eleusines that were brought in from the north, though there were also vegetables such as cowpeas that were probably used as relish to vary the stiff porridge that was the main food based on the crops. After iron implements and crops, the next major innovation was pottery, which was used to store, cook, or serve the foods. Each group of people in a specific place and time used to shape and decorate its pottery in its own 'tradition', and the pottery traditions of the Iron Age give us valuable clues as to the relationships between the cultures of the peoples involved. Fourthly, the new crops made a prolonged stay on one spot not only possible but necessary, since it took time for crops to grow, and thus the people cut small trees with their axes and used them to make the typical round, thatched hut of Africa out of poles and hard clay, *daga* as it was known to the archaeologists of the Plateau. Finally, the people of the Early Iron Age kept herds of goats and sheep and a few — very few indeed — head of cattle. All of this represented a radical break from the way of life of the Stone Age on the Plateau itself and in many other areas, although it had evolved very gradually in and around its point of origin.[7]

The major question that concerns us here is who these Early Iron Age people were. For a number of reasons it is clear that they were not the Late Stone Age people in another guise. The appearance of all these new economic features at once argues very strongly that new people were bringing them in from somewhere else where they had already been developed; if it was merely a question of Stone Age people learning about the new techniques from their neighbours and then passing them on, one would expect to find a much more uneven spread of the five main new inventions — as in fact happened where the Stone Age Khoisan of the south did borrow the ideas of herding and pottery-making but not ironworking, agriculture, or hut-building. Moreover, we know that the Early Iron Age people continued to rely to some extent on gathering and hunting, just as the Late Stone Age people had done; and we also know that Iron Age people in general did not always have as much iron as they needed, with the result that they were sometimes forced to use digging-sticks instead of hoes. Under these circumstances, if a Late Stone Age population had been simply picking up new ideas, one would have expected to find a strong tradition of the continuing use of stone arrow-barbs and scrapers in the first Early Iron Age villages, which was in fact

what happened in parts of the world where an existing population turned to new techniques. But no strong evidence for this kind of survival has yet been found, so it is fairly certain that a new people entered southern Africa bringing the Early Iron Age with them.[8]

There is no serious doubt about the identity of these people as a whole. The area of the Early Iron Age fits the area of the Bantu-speaking peoples remarkably closely, and the linguistic evidence that the various Bantu languages began to differentiate from a common stock fairly recently is paralleled by the archaeological evidence that the pottery of the Early Iron Age in different areas shows both similarities and differences in style suggesting a spread from a common centre outside eastern or southern Africa. Moreover, in some areas there is a straight tradition of pottery-making from the Early Iron Age to the Bantu-speaking people of today. Finally, all the cultural features that can be observed in Early Iron Age sites correspond more or less closely to cultural features of the Bantu-speaking peoples, while most if not all of the skeletal evidence of the Early Iron Age fits the negroid physical type of most Bantu-speakers.[9] It is therefore more or less established that the Early Iron Age was brought in by immigrants from a nuclear area somewhere to the north of the Zambezi — although it is still not known exactly where this was, and the entire vast area contained within the northern basin of the Congo river would be as good an estimate as any for the time being.

A logical question that follows from this is how this expansion of the Bantu-speaking people was done. Discussion of this topic has so far tended to concentrate on two extremes, the theories of waves of fast-moving invaders that were modelled on the exaggerated ideas that South African writers held on the *mfecane* (the great disturbances of the nineteenth century) on the one hand, and a reaction against this on the other. It is suggested here that it would be far wiser to deal with this problem afresh, working on what people could have done and drawing upon traditions from the Later Iron Age. Imagine an early Iron Age village of perhaps a hundred people or so, with their tools, fields, pottery, huts, and herds. Either from Late Stone Age hunters or from their own people who travelled far afield looking for iron and salt — on which, more later — they would probably have a fair idea of the local geography for at least fifty miles. Assuming that they have some reason for moving, they reap their crops at the end of one rainy season, and pack up their belongings. Then with their

herds, their grain in pots and baskets, their tools, and with their children walking alongside, they walk five miles and camp for the night. They do this for ten days, and then they settle down in a spot fifty miles from their own home, already picked out by them in advance. They plant fresh crops before the next rains, and stay there for five years, and then repeat the process. In ten years they will have travelled a hundred miles. In a century they have travelled a thousand miles. This, obviously, is a speculative idea, but it does show how a Bantu expansion based on simple migration would have been possible, without any improbable drama.

The real question, however, behind the expansion of the Bantu-speaking peoples and the spread of the Early Iron Age is not how it happened but why it happened. To attempt to answer this, we must go back to some fundamental points. We have already seen that the Late Stone Age people were probably relatively few in numbers: because they existed in a relationship with a definite territory, their numbers were kept down to a level that the land could support by their own birth control practices and the limitations of their technology. It seems most likely that the change from a Late Stone Age economy to an Early Iron Age economy, wherever it took place, altered this situation quite radically. The crops of grain could not only feed far more people in a given area than the wild vegetables and game in the same area, but they could also be stored in grain bins built like miniature huts for at least a few years. Thus a married couple in an Early Iron Age village could afford to have more children than a hunter-gatherer couple, knowing that if they lived to adulthood they would probably not starve. Moreover, many sons and daughters could increase the overall supplies of the family by their labour. Consequently it was also to a man's advantage to have two or more wives in order to increase his family's size, and in later centuries there are some well-authenticated examples of men with several wives and dozens of children. Naturally, since the ratio of boys to girls was more or less equal, the man with many wives was a rarity, though many must have hoped to follow his example. In short, agriculture made an increase of population not only possible but even desirable.[10]

On the other hand, such an increase of population at the level of the Early Iron Age village did not take place in a vacuum. Like the Late Stone Age people, they too knew population pressures, although they have only a general resemblance to such pressures as we know them today. In the first place, by modern standards there

would have been no shortage of land for crops. Even though the continued cropping of the same fields would have led in time to reduced yields, there was probably always enough land near to the village, within the radius of one hour's walk that is the theoretical site territory for agricultural settlements, to produce good crops by modern standards. The point to be noticed here is that in the first centuries of agriculture in southern Africa, it might well have been possible for the first agriculturists to be far more discriminating in their selection of land for crops; in other words, it might have paid them to try to cultivate virgin land whenever possible, rather than to use fields that had been cropped before. But, in the second place, the Early Iron Age economy was based on agriculture but it was also affected by a great range of other problems. The Early Iron Age people used to hunt and gather wild plants, and therefore, like the Late Stone Age people they too would have had wide and well-defined territories in which to do so. They needed wood for huts, beast-enclosures, fires, and furnaces. Perhaps most crucially, they needed grazing for their goats and sheep. Here again, although it is still possible to do all of these things in the much more crowded environment of today, it is probable that the Early Iron Age people could afford to be a lot more discriminating than today's people. Thus if the numbers of people in a certain site territory increased beyond a certain point, there might be a strong temptation to move to virgin land and grazing that had not yet been touched by goats. From the point of view of the Early Iron Age people, they would have been suffering from population pressures, and hence, perhaps, the migration described above would take place. These pressures might have made themselves felt in different ways: there might have been a deliberate decision on the part of a group to move *en masse*, or else the competition for better fields, better grazing, richer hunting ranges, and so forth would have led gradually to quarrels between women over fields, between boys over grazing and between men over hunting grounds that would eventually make themselves felt in civil war, or the threat of it, between the houses founded by a local ruler and his sons. The effect would have been the same.

A great deal would have depended upon the existing population in the area into which a migrant group wished to move, and upon the location of the place from which they came. If the new land was inhabited only by Late Stone Age hunter-gatherers, it would probably not be difficult for the incoming agricultural group to establish itself: the existence of iron weapons might or

might not turn the scale, but the sheer numbers of the new people, built up by their previous reliance on agriculture, and centred upon the leader of the Early Iron Age group and his sons by his wives, would outweigh the limited numbers of hunter-gatherers in any single territory. In southern Africa in general this appears to have been the long-term trend over two thousand years. On the other hand, if the new territory already held other Early Iron Age people, the newcomers might either conquer them and stay, be defeated and stay as subjects or else be beaten and forced to push on even farther before they could settle. Again, where such a group already lived on the edge of an agricultural area, bordering the territories of the hunter-gatherers, no long distance move would be necessary. But where the kinds of population pressures suggested above were experienced by a group in the middle of a cluster of agriculturalists, it might be necessary to move quite a long distance before suitable land could be found, and the migrants would have to pass through several areas inhabited by their own kind of people.

This process suggested above gives us a model for the original Bantu expansion. At present it can only serve as a suggestion as to the way in which the expansion might have taken place, in a field in which our knowledge and interpretations are expanding and changing, but it does differ from some earlier models in that it draws upon the research of the main part of this book, the history of the Shona after *c.*1450, in order to interpret the Early Iron Age. Thus features that cannot be supported from archaeological or linguistic evidence, such as the polygamy of community leaders, quarrels over the use of natural resources, the short-distance migration and the temporary settlement in the land of other rulers on the way to a new territory, have been drawn from Shona traditions which repeatedly suggest that such things occurred. It may well be argued that even if the traditions are correct, the social situation may have been quite different in the Early Iron Age, but it can equally be argued that in the same environment and with all the people belonging to the same basic Bantu-speaking group, a strong similarity is quite probable. Indeed, there are some ways in which this model fits the archaeological evidence. Firstly there is the question of why the various pottery traditions of the Early Iron Age have not left more (or, in some cases, any) traces on the presumed route that their makers must have taken to arrive at their main areas of settlement. Why, in other words, have we not yet found more than a few examples

of the pottery of the Silver Leaves tradition of the lands south of the Limpopo on the southern Zambezian Plateau, or any examples of the pottery of the Gokomere and Bambata traditions of the Plateau north of the Zambezi?[11] If the model proposed above, in which groups moved fairly rapidly to areas chosen in advance with only short-term stops *en route*, is applied on a larger scale to the southern African Early Iron Age, it might account for a lack of continuous development in the traditions of pottery. Secondly, if there was, as has been suggested, a fairly rapid increase of population in the beginning of the Early Iron Age, based on greater food supplies from crops and centred on polygamous leaders and their sons, this might account for the large size of Early Iron Age villages. In other words, if the Early Iron Age saw a much more rapid increase of population relative to the Later Iron Age or Shona period, very large villages may have been the rule even for relatively small political and social groups, whereas the contrast in the first half of the Later Iron Age between small scattered villages of the ordinary people and large settlements for the rulers may indicate a relatively slower increase of population at this time. On the other hand, the second half of the Shona period may have seen a different pace of development.

We now turn from speculation to the facts. The first known Early Iron Age village on the Plateau was just west of the middle Tokwe river in the south, at a place called Mabveni. It existed round about A.D. 180. It used to be classified as a village of the Gokomere tradition (in other words, its people made pottery in the style of the culture named after the site at Gokomere), but it seems probable from recent research that it actually belonged to the Bambata tradition, which represented a major Early Iron Age grouping south of the Limpopo, otherwise known to us from an incomplete collection of pots from sites in the south-west of the Plateau.[12] This would mean that, for a short time at the beginning of the Early Iron Age, there was a group of Bantu-speakers who lived across the southern end of the Plateau who were not connected to the main group of Early Iron Age people on the rest of the Plateau. The main group was that of the Gokomere tradition, and its people lived over most of the Plateau after about 320. At first they tended to make very similar pottery although it differed from area to area, but about 600 the style, which was in any case developing as time went on, began to differ even more between the north-eastern and south-western areas. In other words, it looks very much as though a people who were originally closely

related in culture and perhaps in dialect and were beginning to develop in different directions, as one would expect if a single immigrant people were becoming separated one from the other by distance and time. The whole process resembled that of the whole Bantu expansion, reproduced in miniature on the Plateau. This process continued after about 900-1000 in the north-east, but it was brought to a halt in the south and south-west by the coming of the Later Iron Age. A third distinct people lived on the outlying Urungwe plateau, where they developed the Sinoia tradition from about 650 onwards. They had very close links in their pottery style with the people north of the Zambezi.[13]

So far, we have carefully avoided identifying the Early Iron Age peoples with any of the speakers of specific Bantu languages, but before we deal with this question, it is best to suggest what happened to the Late Stone Age people, the Khoisan hunters. It has already been pointed out that they probably did not last much beyond 1000 in most parts of the Plateau, and that they were not primarily responsible for the Early Iron Age that supplanted their way of life. It seems most likely that the Stone Age people were much thinner on the ground in each territory than the immigrant Early Iron Age people. This can be judged from the ability of the land to support hunters and agriculturalists, and from the sizes of their settlements. Consequently they would have been a minority in any area into which the agriculturalists penetrated. This would have led to their being very gradually squeezed out as a separate culture. Their women may have married into Early Iron Age families, although from the lack of Stone Age tools in Iron Age villages it seeems unlikely that very many men followed suit. Some Stone Age communities, at least, in the dryer south and west, seem to have become clients of Iron Age settlements, possibly supplying meat in return for grain: some Late Stone Age camps of the later period contain pots.[14] But others again may simply have been so harried by the rival interests of the more numerous Early Iron Age people, in matters where hunting ranges and grazing land were concerned, that they simply found it impossible to support themselves. The only real traits of the Stone Age peoples that have lasted are a few words in modern Shona that appear to be rooted in Khoisan words: *gomo* (mountain), *hwai* (sheep), and *zamu* (breast).[15] These are tenuous links indeed.

It is clear that the Early Iron Age people were Bantu-speakers, but it is not known what Bantu language they spoke. We can,

however, be fairly certain that it was not Shona. We know this because, whereas the Shona language and culture was well established on the Plateau by *c.*1500 when the Portuguese began to describe it, and whereas the Shona societies of that time and later formed part of a single large Later Iron Age culture, there was a sharp break between the pottery traditions and certain other features of the Early and Later Iron Ages. This break was so clear that there is so far no direct proof that any of the Early Iron Age people survived into the Later Iron Age, although it will be suggested that this must have happened in the same way that some of the Late Stone Age people joined the Early Iron Age groups. The break, which had parallels north of the Zambezi,[16] took place in this fashion; as was pointed out earlier, the pottery of the Gokomere tradition of the Early Iron Age had been changing and developing, not only in time but also in place, so that a gradual change of decoration and shape in pots and bowls was going on all the time. After *c.*900 in the south and *c.*1100 in the north, however, the archaeological record showed a new style of pottery that was not only well developed, but which had no connection with the earlier style. In other words, no pots have yet been found that show a link between the two styles. This break first appeared in the south and south-west, where the latest phases of the Gokomere culture, with dates of about 850, 830-50, or 910, were replaced by the Leopards Kopje and Gumanye cultures with dates of about 940, 1020, or 1090.[17] In the north, where as we have seen the process of Early Iron Age development went on rather longer, the final Maxton phase of the Gokomere tradition went on to about 1010 before two new cultures supplanted it, the Harare tradition in the central Plateau from about 1150-80, and the Musengezi tradition farther north and west, from about 1210.[18] So far no overlap of dates has been recorded, although a great deal of attention has been paid by archaeologists to this period. The break in pottery styles, therefore, is a clean one in both the north and the south of the Plateau.

The change in pottery styles was not the only significant change that divided the Early from the Later Iron Age. There had been some gradual changes that had been taking place in the Early Iron Age, and which continued into the Later Iron Age. Village sites, for example, tended to be located on hills towards the end of the Early Iron Age in the north, whereas they had previously been in river valleys, and this trend spread into the Later Iron Age.[19] There was also evidence of gradually increasing trade with

the coast towards the end of the Early Iron Age, and the coming of the Later Iron Age did not, as will be shown later, make a great difference at first. But the really significant change involved cattle. There had been very few cattle in Early Iron Age villages, and there were slightly more as the culture progressed but the Later Iron Age, in all of its variants, saw a great increase in the numbers of cattle. The evidence for this comes from the great numbers of cattle bones found at Later Iron Age sites, and also from a well-developed tradition of making clay figurines of cattle that was practised by the Later Iron Age people. These figurines, and realistic figurines of women in clay or soapstone, represented a major difference between the Later Iron Age and the Early Iron Age, where figurines had been of a very different type.[20]

The contrast between the Early and Later Iron Ages in terms of pottery styles, cattle herds, and art forms is sufficient to suggest the arrival of a new people. The similarity between them in terms of hut building, ironwork, crops, and goat and sheep herding, as well as in hunting and gathering, simply suggests that they were both part of the Bantu-speaking peoples, which is obvious anyway. It is the difference that matters here. It has been suggested that the difference simply represented the arrival of a small minority of cattle-herding people, who then spread both their herding techniques and their pottery and sculpture styles to the Early Iron Age peoples who were in the majority. The main objection to this, apart from the difficulties in expanding cattle herds that will be suggested later, is that so far no village where cattle were common has yielded either Early Iron Age pottery or a mixture of the two styles. In a basically Early Iron Age community which suddenly acquired extra cattle from outside — and we know from the radiocarbon dates that the change was relatively sudden — and which decided for some reason to change its pottery style in honour of the event, one would expect some of the old pottery to remain even if no intermediate style was attempted. So far, this has not yet appeared in the record.

We must therefore ask ourselves, as we did with the Late Stone Age people, what happened to the Early Iron Age people, and who they were. It is not difficult to see what could have happened in individual cases. It is known that the Shona — for which, read Later Iron Age — people used to offer a bride-price of cattle to their fathers-in-law in return for their wives as far back as the sixteenth century, and it is clear that on the Plateau at least the wives went to live with their husbands' people rather than the

other way around.[21] If a cattle-rich Shona people moved into a cattle-poor Early Iron Age area, their men could very easily have acquired wives from the Early Iron Age people on this basis. Assuming the bride arrived in her new home without any collection of possessions such as pots, there would be no trace of this in the archaeological record because she would probably make her pots, if she did so, in the style of her mother-in-law and the other women in her new home. The problem is that this is difficult to apply to the entire break between the Iron Ages right across the Plateau. For a start, it assumes that no bride brought pots with her, and that none of her relatives, such as her brother and his Early Iron Age wife, went with her, or brought their pots if they did. Moreover, although the Early Iron Age people may very well have lost a great many women to the Later Iron Age people in this way, some sort of two-way traffic might be expected, which would lead to the survival of the Early Iron Age village and its coexistence with the Later Iron Age village, which in turn should have shown up in the archaeology. Obviously, more research is needed, but at present it seems that the Early Iron Age people either lost so many women that they were weakened beyond the point where they could survive as a community and were thus absorbed by the newcomers, or they were driven out, or both.

This leaves us with the question of the language of the Early Iron Age people. Where an immigration occurs, the question of language usually depends upon the numbers of people involved. Obviously, if the newcomers outnumber the older-established group, a new language will probably result. If the newcomers are in a clear minority, their language will probably be absorbed by the language of the majority. But if a sizeable minority arrives, it may supplant the old language. This happened twice in the nineteenth century on or near the Plateau. In about 1840 the Kololo, numbering perhaps 30,000, entered the upper Zambezi valley, while about the same time the Ndebele, probably numbering no more than 23,000, settled in what had been the Shona-speaking Changamire state in the south-west of the Plateau.[22] In both cases, the immigrant language and culture became the permanent language and culture of the people, even though the immigrants were in the minority (about 33 per cent in the case of the Ndebele). But it is important to notice that although these immigrant minorities implanted the Sotho and Ndebele languages and the Linyanti and Ndebele traditions of pottery, they were doing so in a limited area and with the help of a powerful state structure in

each case, yet they did not succeed in spreading that process across either the whole upper Zambezi valley or the whole Plateau. In the case of the Ndebele, for example, there was a certain spread of Ndebele features close to the state, equalled by the adoption by the Ndebele of some Shona cultural features such as pole-and-*daga* huts, but after half a century of contact the spread of Ndebele speech seems to have stabilized.[23] What this seems to show is that an immigrant minority can change the language of part of an area provided that it is in sufficient numbers, but that it must be in roughly equivalent strength to do so in the entire area involved: the Ndebele could change the language of an area in which they constituted perhaps 33 per cent of the population, but they could not do so for the whole Plateau where they constituted less than 10 per cent.[24] In this case, if one Later Iron Age community settled in an area held by two Early Iron Age communities, it could change their language and culture. This is, in fact, the rough ratio of Later to Early Iron Age villages in a carefully searched part of the Hunyani valley,[25] and taken as a guide to the whole Plateau it represents a very large immigration. Indeed, it may have represented an even bigger percentage, for the important difference between the Ndebele immigration and the Later Iron Age immigration is that the Ndebele did pick up at least one Shona trait that would show in the archaeological record, the style of hut construction, while no specifically Early Iron Age trait was adopted by the Later Iron Age. In other words, even where a very influential and numerous minority succeeded in altering the language of an area, there was some significant cultural borrowing from the majority, whereas the break between Early and Later Iron Ages on the Plateau was a clean one in this respect. It follows from this that it is unlikely that the Early Iron Age language predominated over the language of the Later Iron Age immigrants, and that therefore it was not Shona. On the whole, it was probably related to the languages of the South-east Bantu group, of which Tsonga and Venda are the nearest members to the Plateau.[26] Thus, just as we date the arrival of the Ndebele on the Plateau from *c.*1840 even though two-thirds of them today are of Shona origin, so we must date the settlement of the Shona on the Plateau from *c.*900 in the south and *c.*1100 in the north, even though they probably include a great many of the Early Iron Age people in their ancestry.

ii. The settlement of the Shona

Since, in the rest of this book, we shall be using the term 'Shona', it would be as well to explain what is meant by this. The word itself was apparently first used by the Ndebele and others to the south in the early nineteenth century to describe the people of the south-west of the Plateau, especially the Rozvi. The word was extended by degrees, first to the central Shona and then to the rest of the people.[27] Whatever its derivation, the word 'Shona' is now used to name the South-Central Bantu language of most of the modern Later Iron Age people of the Plateau and, by extension, the people themselves, even though in many cases the grandparents of the people of today would not have used that name to describe themselves. In this history, this modern use of the term will be used for the people of the Later Iron Age on the Plateau, whenever it is certain that they spoke a variety of Shona, regardless of whether they used that term for themselves or not; this is not strictly historically accurate, but it is convenient. On the other hand, no attempt will be made to project backwards the modern names for the Shona-dialect clusters, Zezuru, Karanga, Kalanga, Korekore, Manyika, Nyanga, Ndau, or Shanga, unless some qualifying prefix such as 'modern' or suffix such as 'speaking' is used; most of these terms were originally used in a much more restricted sense, and their wider application nowadays is largely due to the people themselves following the lead of the linguists who borrowed local terms and used them for their own purposes. There has been a good deal of historical confusion created in the past by the too-ready application of the modern names of dialect clusters to groups in the past.[28] Instead, frequent use will be made of geographical terms such as 'central', 'northern', 'south-western' and so on, to describe both the Plateau and its people; the borders of these will be left deliberately vague.

It may well be asked why it is so certain that the Later Iron Age people spoke Shona, and for answer we must look at the archaeology. We have already seen that there was a sharp break in the pottery tradition of the Iron Age, between Early and Later groups in the Plateau, and that there was also a difference between their economies, in that the Later Iron Age people had large cattle herds. It is now time to look at the peoples on this side of the break. We know four of these in the main part of the Plateau. The first of these groups is known as the Leopard's Kopje culture, and it settled in the south-west of the Plateau after

about 940. By about 1020 it had extended itself to the Limpopo valley lowland.[29] The second, known as the Gumanye culture, was found in the south of the Plateau in the middle courses of the Mtilikwe, Tokwe, and Lundi rivers, and is so far dated at only one spot, about 1090.[30] In the central Plateau there was the Harare culture, which flourished from about 1150-80 around the Hunyani and Umfuli valleys, while farther to the north and north-west was the Musengezi culture, with dates from about 1210.[31] These cultures are the main ones known to us of the first centuries of the Later Iron Age, but it is very likely that other, similar cultures will be discovered in due course in other parts of the country, such as the eastern highlands or the coastal lowlands. Indeed, what appears to be a new pottery tradition succeeding that of Gumanye has been found at a site on the middle Tokwe.[32]

As pointed out above, the clean break between the pottery traditions and the herding economies of the Early and Later Iron Ages makes it clear that a new group of people were involved. Moreover, there is a growing body of evidence that shows that this new group was only part of a much larger movement of people within southern Africa, which gave rise to a local, southern African Later Iron Age. Such local breaks between Early and Later Iron Ages have occurred elsewhere in Bantu Africa — in eastern Africa, for example — but whereas the spread of the Early Iron Age represented the spread of the Bantu-speaking peoples from a single point of origin within a few centuries, the appearance of Later Iron Ages in different parts of Bantu Africa in the first few centuries after 1000 would appear to be the work of unrelated groups within the Bantu, even though their emergence was often associated with a common economic factor in the form of large cattle herds. In other words, whereas the Early Iron Age peoples of eastern and southern Africa were closely associated, the Later Iron Age peoples were not.

It has already been shown how, on the plateau north of the middle Zambezi, local movements of people originating in the Early Iron Age settlement of that area could lead to the replacement of other such groups, so that a local Later Iron Age could supplant the Early Iron Age cultures within a limited area.[33] The appearance of the Later Iron Age on the Plateau south of the Zambezi can now be seen to be part of just such a local movement on a much grander scale, embracing most of southern Africa and originating on the plateau south of the Limpopo. Firstly, it should be understood that the Leopard's Kopje, Gumanye, Harare, and

Musengezi cultures on the Plateau were also closely associated with the Eiland and Toupye cultures of the south and south-west, located beyond the Limpopo and towards the Kalahari, respectively. These six cultures and pottery styles that were so closely related to each other, and so distinct from their contemporaries, that they can be grouped together into a unit named 'Kutama', from the Shona word for 'migrate'. Secondly, the Kutama peoples originated in the high country on either side of the Drakensberg, well to the south of the Limpopo, where they had developed out of the original Early Iron Age settlement in that area. What appears to have happened was that the original Early Iron Age Bantu-speakers who crossed the Limpopo in the first few centuries of this era, including the Bambata group that had briefly settled in the south-west of the Plateau, came to occupy an area of exceptionally high potential for agriculture and cattle-keeping, the Drakensberg range and its eastern flanks. In this favourable environment, the numbers of people, and their herds of cattle, increased to the point where it became desirable to start moving back towards and beyond the Limpopo and the southern Zambezian Plateau, which was well watered compared with the lands farther west. Consequently, Later Iron Age settlers of the Kutama group moved northwards over the Limpopo round about 900 to found the Leopard's Kopje and Gumanye cultures, and then pressed onwards to settle in the centre and north of the Plateau as the Harare and Musengezi cultures.

This gigantic reflex movement of peoples has become apparent as a result of very recent research, and until this research was undertaken a southern origin for the Later Iron Age was scarcely considered, and in the absence of any evidence for Kutama-type settlement north of the Zambezi, archaeologists were forced to consider the western approach to the Plateau, from the upper Zambezi and the Chobe swamp area, as a possible place of origin for the Shona for want of any better suggestion. The new findings give a much more logical answer to this problem, but they also have two important implications. Firstly, they make it clear that large-scale movements of people after the original settlement of Bantu-speakers in eastern, central, and southern Africa were not as uncommon as has been supposed, and that besides the famous and spectacular *mfecane* of the early nineteenth century there have been equally important reflex movements caused by economic and environmental pressures. Secondly, in answer to the often voiced Shona question, 'Where did we come from?', we can now reply,

'From both the north and the south', from the original Bantu homeland north of the great basin of the Congo and its tributaries, and from a local area of dispersion, south of the Limpopo.

To understand why the settlement described above represents the coming of the Shona, we must very briefly follow the archaeological, documentary, traditional, and linguistic evidence up to the position of the Shona of today. The Leopard's Kopje culture developed into two main branches. The northern branch developed up to about 1310, and the southern up to about 1390, as far as radiocarbon dates can indicate, but the southern branch also developed into a later phase known as Manyoli, the pottery of which seems to have affinities with that of the recent Shona of the south-west. The Harare culture developed up to about 1420, and its pottery appears to have affinities with that of the recent central Shona.[34] The Gumanye culture developed into that of the Zimbabwe state, which flourished up to about 1450-1500 and spread itself right across the Plateau in doing so, giving rise to dynasties that were already well established by the time the Portuguese came, from 1502 onwards. It is clear from the Portuguese documents of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries that there was only one basic culture and language among the people of the northern and eastern part of the Plateau, and that these were directly ancestral to modern Shona. Although the people of the north-east thought that the south-western people were difficult or impossible to understand, nevertheless this corresponds to what many modern Shona think about the Kalanga-speakers of the south-west, who none the less still speak Shona.[35] Finally, the traditions of the various Shona dynasties can be projected as far back as the seventeenth century with some reliability, and it is clear from the documents that there was no major immigration at this time. Since, in addition, there are clear affinities between the pottery of the Later Iron Age as a whole and that of the modern Shona, there can be no doubt that the majority of the Later Iron Age people were Shona-speakers.

It would be broadly true to say that the history of the Plateau since about 940 to 1210 was the history of the Shona, but it would not be entirely accurate. Firstly, as will be described later, many Shona dynasties moved east and south off the Plateau into the lower Zambezi valley, the coastal lowlands and the Zoutpansberg, south of the Limpopo, to set up their own political units. In the end, however, they were absorbed by the basic population they had conquered, adopted their language and culture, and retained

only the memory of their Shona origins. A second, and much more substantial kind of movement involved the permanent loss of territory by the Shona to the speakers of other languages in the south-west and in the south-eastern lowveld in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and to corresponding gains by the Shona from others in the west, the north-west and in the Inyanga highlands from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. The losses involved the arrival in the south-west of the Sotho Tswana, including the Kaa and Khurutshe and especially the Ngwato, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and of the Ndebele from 1840, and the Tsonga Hlengwe in the south-eastern lowveld in the nineteenth century. In each case a basic Shona element survived, but it adopted the language and culture of the newcomers. The gains by the Shona were made on the Urungwe plateau, where the Mbara people of the Ingombe Ilede culture had flourished up to the sixteenth century, on the south bank of the middle Zambezi valley, especially around the Deka river area, where the original population had been the Leya, and on the Inyanga plateau where Manyika-speaking settlers mixed with a basic Sena-speaking people to produce a distinctive Shona dialect cluster known nowadays as Nyanga. In each of these cases, Shona came to be spoken where it had not been previously. It should be noted that the gains by the Shona were made before their losses, not after.

The settlement of the Shona, though it represented a change in population from the Early Iron Age, did not mean a great change in the way of life in the first century or so. Looking at the four early Shona cultures on the Plateau — Leopard's Kopje, Gumanye, Harare, and Musengezi — we see much the same features that had been present earlier. The people built their pole-and-*daga* huts on hilltops in many cases, just as some of the last Early Iron Age people had tended to do, and the huts must have been very similar. They mined iron, built furnaces and forges, and made iron hoes and axes, just as their predecessors had done, and like them they cleared fields and sowed their crops. They hunted and kept goats and sheep, and in general life must have been much like that of the Early Iron Age. The real differences lay in the great herds of cattle kept in enclosures, usually of timber but occasionally of stone, and grazed across the territory of each village, and also, of course, in the styles of pottery and figurines made. In these latter cases the differences may have been more significant to archaeologists than to the people themselves, since the people, after all, had developed these styles much earlier, south of the Zambezi. Great changes were about to take place on the Plateau, but before these can be understood, it is necessary to see how the economy of both Iron Ages worked.

iii. The development of the economy

The term 'development' is used here to mean the older sense of 'evolution' or the gradual appearance of a more complex form, and it is not intended to imply any sort of value judgement or suggestion that as the economy 'developed', so it was getting 'better' in some way. Thus, though the Iron Age on the Plateau saw the rise of societies that were far more 'evolved' or elaborate than others, it does not follow that either the causes of that rise or the end result can be regarded with complacency. Later in this chapter, we shall see the rise of the state of Zimbabwe, with its well-known 'prestige' buildings and its far less understood problems of urbanization. Here, however, we are concerned with the development of trade and its relationship to the economy of the Plateau as a whole. To make some of the problems involved more clear, this account will put the cart before the horse, discussing first the trade structure and only then the basic economy of which it was a part.

As pointed out earlier, even the Late Stone Age hunters of the Plateau probably carried out a little trade in such items as ochre, for if modern estimates of the amount of time available to them are accurate, then they could certainly spare the manpower for trade, even though there was an obvious limitation in the bulk of objects acquired that was enforced by the mobile economy, in which the people had to move about frequently.[36] In the Early Iron Age on the Plateau, with its vastly different basic economy, there was at first very little evidence for trade, through some kinds of trade can be inferred from the evidence on the second half of the Shona period. Salt, for example, was essential to the diet of the people, and although it was possible in almost all areas to obtain salt by processing the ashes of certain plants found locally, or even goat droppings, there were certain places, such as the saline springs of the middle Sabi valley, the Mafungabusi plateau or even the sea, where it was possible to get a superior kind of salt. Such places supported a small-scale salt industry, and people living nearby were able to trade the salt for livestock over distances of up to fifty miles. Beyond that distance, however, the traded salt

seems to have been unable to compete with the local product; presumably it became too expensive over longer distances. The evidence for this comes largely from the nineteenth century, but there is no reason to suppose that things were very different in the Early Iron Age. In much the same way, there was probably a certain amount of commerce in iron ore: a general survey of the Plateau suggests that iron ore was not found everywhere, though few places were more than fifty miles from an iron mine. It would follow that, although all known Early Iron Age villages appear to have done their own smelting and forging, many of them would have had to go to the site territory of another village to get ore, and if the evidence of the nineteenth century is any guide, some sort of payment would have had to be made in return for the right to mine. Again, livestock would have been a likely payment.[37]

The most significant evidence for trade in the remains of Early Iron Age villages, however, consists of beads, which came from the Mediterranean or Asia. In the early centuries of the Early Iron Age, they were in very small quantities: at Makuru, for example, a village site dated to about 690, only fourteen imported beads were found and it is probable that the people who used them eked them out with the shell beads they made locally.[38] How did such imported beads get to the Plateau? Probably they had passed from village to village from the coast, and before that by local canoe traffic from village to village along the coast from East Africa, where at the time of the Roman Empire there had been an anchorage or small settlement called Rhapta, that was in contact with the Mediterranean. But the lack of evidence from or about the East African coast at about the middle of the first thousand years of this era confirms the evidence of the Early Iron Age to the effect that whatever trade occurred was very small in scale, hardly better than drift.[39] The first real evidence for the growth of trade on the East African coast comes from Manda, where from about 800 a trading settlement rose on an island off the coast not far south of the Equator. There was obviously considerable trade going on, since it was possible to build a masonry sea-wall and some houses for the richest people out of coral rubble. Imported pottery from Islamic Asia was fairly common, and it is reasonable to suggest that, as at Rhapta earlier, ivory was the main export. Manda was in effect the first of a whole series of such settlements on the coast, including Mogadishu, Malindi, Mombasa, Kilwa, Moçambique, Angoche, Quelimane, and Sofala, which were to rise up in the centuries that followed. Some of them were in competition and some in co-operation, and while some rose to the level of cities, others were never much more than large villages of pole-and-*daga* houses, though built on the square pattern characteristic of Asia. In this culture, Islam became the dominant religion, and spread from the Arabs to the African people along with some Arabic. By about 1500 the entire coastal culture ranged from 'white' Muslims to 'russet', 'olive', and 'black'. The whole orientation of this culture was north-south, up and down the coast rather than inland, and although we shall not have much occasion to refer to the East African cities themselves in the course of this book, it must not be forgotten that they existed, partway along the trade route from the Plateau itself to the ultimate sources of its imports and ultimate destinations of its exports, in Asia, especially India.[40]

The East African economy that was apparently centred on Manda after about 800 expanded rapidly as far as the coast opposite the Plateau, and it increasingly came to depend upon this long trade route, though the impact of this trade was not quite as rapid in reaching the Plateau itself. Round about 915 the traveller al-Mas'udi heard in East Africa of a 'Zanj' kingdom near 'Sofala' where a great ruler possessed many cattle and was able to trade much ivory and some gold.[41] The only likely source for al-Mas'udi's gold was the Plateau, but the rest of his account seems to refer to the East African coast in general, and it seems unlikely that the 'king' he referred to lived on the Plateau unless his information was very up-to-date indeed, for in his time the cattle-rich Later Iron Age people would have been only just settling there, and most of the inhabitants would have been of the Early Iron Age, where cattle were rare. In general, however, trade between the Plateau and the Indian Ocean was increasing: some of the last of the Early Iron Age villages show rather more beads than before, though nothing like the numbers found in the richer Later Iron Age sites, and it is reasonable to think that the gold al-Mas'udi heard of was washed by Early Iron Age villagers in return for them, since there is no evidence to show that any reef mining had been begun by this time. On the whole, there is no reason to suppose that the trade of the Plateau would not have developed in more or less the same way if the Early Iron Age people had not been supplanted by the Shona.

After the settlement of the Shona, however, trade with the East Coast developed steadily. By the twelfth century, reef mining was in progress, and it continued up to the nineteenth century. For a

great deal of this period, gold constituted the most important single export from the Plateau, though it was gradually overtaken by ivory, and there were some other exports as well, principally copper. The growth of the gold-mining industry was, of course, restricted to those areas in which gold ores existed, so that not every Shona group could take part, and it was also restricted by certain technical problems, especially that of mining below the level of the water-table. Yet, within these limits, the Shona achievement was remarkable. All of the work was carried out by Shona village communities, which mined, washed and milled the gold and reduced it to a condition suitable for export; thus by the 1840s in the south-west and at least the 1890s elsewhere, they had worked out very nearly all of the payable reef gold, although it was possible to wash for gold in certain areas after this. The exact amount of gold exported before about 1500 is unknown, though the wealth of such states as Zimbabwe and Kilwa relative to that of their successors gives us a rough guide, and it is possible that production approached one and a half million ounces a year. The more reliable estimates after that range from 53,125 to 25,571 ounces a year for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, though specific figures — rather than estimates — for the port of Sofala in a twenty-year period at the beginning of the sixteenth century give a much lower average of about 930 ounces a year. These figures declined drastically during the eighteenth century. In general, it cannot always be told where on the Plateau the greatest development was taking place at any given time, but it appears to be true that all possible advances in mining technology were made relatively early in the Shona period, and that thereafter production could only be continued or increased by extending the area of effort, either within the same territory or in new territories. Certainly, towards the end of the gold-mining industry, rulers were obviously conscious of the need to conserve their resources and often restricted production.[42]

The growth of the ivory trade has left even less evidence than the gold trade. Elephant-hunting was carried out in several ways, with the animals being trapped in pits, speared from trees or, in some cases, hamstrung by a daring hunter who approached them alone. One of the end products was the ivory, and this, too, was traded to the coast. Again, the estimates for ivory exports throughout the Shona period varied considerably, from about 7,680 pounds from Sofala alone from 1506 to 1519 to about 970,201 pounds in the 1590s, and 69,381 pounds in the 1760s.[43] As for

other products, copper from a few mines figured occasionally,[44] and although the Plateau never appears to have made much of a contribution — if that is the right word — to the slave trade, slaves who were probably Shona did make up about 8 per cent of the total for the whole coast in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[45]

The outward signs of the value of the export trade of the Plateau are still with us. One can still see the palaces and mosques of Kilwa which date from the fourteenth century, one can still visit the Portuguese fortress of Moçambique which was in effect Kilwa's successor as a centre that depended upon the products of the Plateau. And, at the other end of the trade route, one can still see the impressive stone buildings that are almost all that remains of the Zimbabwe state and its successors. But these do not give the whole story. The process by which Muslim merchants, Portuguese captains, or Shona rulers became rich is fairly easy to understand. They were able to do so, ultimately, because there were people in places such as India who wanted gold and ivory, and because there were people on the Plateau who wanted beads and cloth, the two basic imports of the entire Iron Age period, as far as we can tell. But why should the people of the Plateau want these things? Above all, why should they want them in view of the extraordinary difficulties experienced in obtaining the gold and ivory? For neither mining nor elephant-hunting was an easy process. Mining and washing were both more or less restricted to the dry season, not only for agricultural reasons but because that was the season when the water-table was lowest in the mines and it was easiest to wash in the rivers. Mining, in particular, involved very hard work, in which deep stopes, shafts, and adits were dug with hoes, picks, gads, and shovels, and the earth, rock, ore, and in some cases water were passed out in baskets and bowls. In many cases, laborious efforts would follow a vein of gold down to the point where it suddenly pinched out or went below the water-level, whereupon a new mine had to be found and opened. Even the milling took a great deal of labour. Given the problems of obtaining a fair price from the traders or of exporting the gold over trade routes that might be cut by wars, it is not surprising that the amount of gold arriving at a place such as Sofala fluctuated wildly. Nor was this all. Mining could be dangerous, with sudden floods and cave-ins, as both documents and the skeletons of the unlucky testify.[46] The same was true for elephant-hunting. Whatever method was used seems to have involved a strong element of

chance, and although the method of the lone attacker who hamstrung elephants with an axe may not have been the most common, the mere fact that it occurred shows that there must have been some fairly powerful economic forces at work, to make people risk their lives in this fashion. What, one is forced to ask, was the attraction of beads and cloth?

At this point, we return to the problem of the basic economy of the Plateau, and the way in which it worked. Since there are only archaeological data for the Early Iron Age, and indeed for a great deal of the Shona period, we have to draw rather heavily upon traditional and documentary evidence from the later centuries, but since all of the people shared much the same environment, especially the very variable climate, and since the crops available to them and their technology in respect of hoes, grain bins and so on were very similar, there is a very good justification for projecting back the conditions of the more recent past. Indeed, one of the remarkable features of the Plateau from an agricultural point of view was its extreme conservatism: Asian crops such as rice or American vegetables like the potato were far from common in the everyday diet of most of the people long after they appeared on the Plateau, and judging from its limited importance in the nineteenth century, maize was anything but a miracle crop.[47]

A central point of the economy of the Iron Age was that although the people still carried out hunting and gathering, and wild vegetables and game meat formed an important part of their diet, the Iron Age population seems to have been advanced by its reliance upon agriculture beyond the point where any community could survive entirely upon hunting and gathering if its crops failed. Communities afflicted by drought naturally turned to these methods, but real famine seems to have been the usual result, and often groups had to take refuge in neighbouring territories. The real basis of the Iron Age economy, then, was agriculture, but its weakness was that it does not seem to have been absolutely secure, from the point of view of the people. A very variable climate often led to what the Shona called *shangwa*, drought or disaster: rains that came too late, too abundantly or not at all, locusts or other unexpected pests could all ruin the crops. The effects of this would not be felt immediately, but because it seems to have been impossible to store grain over a long period, there never was enough grain in store to keep the people secure. The result was that, although in four years out of five there would be normal

rainfall, it was probable that in the fifth there would be a *shangwa* in which the community would be forced to look outside agriculture for its survival. It was this basic weakness that underlay the whole economy of the Iron Age peoples, and made their remarkable efforts in export production and trade understandable.[48]

The most obvious route of escape from the threat of *shangwa* for the peoples of the Iron Age on the Plateau did not lie in the direction of gold-mining or elephant-hunting, however, but in herding. Livestock lived longer than grain could be stored, reproduced themselves, and could be looked after by the boys of the village. Not only could the animals be eaten in time of famine, but they could be traded with neighbours who had not suffered so badly in return for grain. Goats were the main livestock of the Early Iron Age people, and even in the nineteenth century there were usually at least twice as many goats as cattle in Shona communities. Even the earliest Early Iron Age villages on the Plateau had a very few cattle, as was mentioned earlier, but until the coming of the Later Iron Age they must have been something of rarity, and of more symbolic than economic use; for, one of the major problems of cattle-breeding is that, if a herd is depleted by sale to neighbours in return for grain during famines, or if beasts are eaten — and we know that cattle were an important source of meat in Shona villages — then it becomes more difficult to increase its size by breeding. In addition, cattle as well as crops are affected by droughts. It is therefore not surprising that, starting from a small total herd, the Early Iron Age people were not able to increase their herds to any great extent.[49] The coming of the Shona with their great herds of cattle must have led to a great deal more economic security on the Plateau, and the Shona seem to have been quite aware of it, to judge from the numbers of cattle figurines they made and from the occasional parts of beasts that they buried ceremonially.[50] Yet even they do not seem to have achieved absolute economic security by combining pastoralism with agriculture. To obtain cattle seems to have been the main aim of almost every Shona farmer, and consequently there was a strong insistence that bride-price for girls should be paid in cattle;[51] yet paradoxically it is during the Shona period that one finds the greatest evidence of external trade. This does not mean that cattle were not important in the way described, but rather than, had the Plateau remained in the hands of cattle-poor people like the Early Iron Age groups, there would probably have been an even more spectacular exploitation of the Plateau's resources.

There might even have been the extensive adoption of slavery that occurred among cattle-poor peoples in the lower Zambezi valley and farther north. That no such developments occurred during the Early Iron Age on the Plateau up to about 900 can be put down to the delayed arrival of trade contacts with the East African coast.

All this still does not explain exactly why the Early Iron Age and Shona people turned to external trade in the way that they did. Part of the answer seems to lie in the fact that, at least among the Shona for whom we have documentary and traditional evidence, everybody in each community was not living at the same economic level; in other words, in each village there were richer and poorer people, whether through differences in ability, effort, or sheer luck. Moreover, not all villages were equally wealthy and, because of differences of the environment and other factors, some communities would be much worse off than others. Modern Shona traditions, collected under the special conditions of the twentieth century, tend to stress Shona economic equality in the past, but the archaeology and documents make it clear that, from the greatest ruler at Zimbabwe to the poorest slave, there was a tremendous range of wealth and poverty. Thus, while some families and communities were becoming richer, others were collapsing as independent groups and being forced to enter the service of others as *varanda* (bondmen) or even as slaves.[52] There was thus good reason for the Shona to follow the lead of the Early Iron Age people in hunting elephants and seeking gold, in return for beads and cloth which constituted wealth, exchangeable for grain or cattle.

So far, little research has been done on the reason why beads and cloth became regarded as wealth on the Plateau. There were certainly reasons why such locally made items as iron hoes or salt containers (which were highly valued and were exchangeable for other items such as livestock or even, in the case of hoes, girl brides) did not become so valued as to make external trade unnecessary: both items were probably too 'local' and too easily consumed, since even the best hoes rarely lasted for more than five years of use.[53] The role of beads in the community does not seem to have been studied, though in view of the prominence of beads in the archaeology and records of the Plateau this is long overdue. A very tentative suggestion is that whereas men wore some beads, women wore even more, and that since women were even more securely tied to the crop cycle than men, and their labour was absolutely essential to the survival of the community, the redistribution of beads earned through the gold or ivory trade to the womenfolk helped to maintain the stability of the village. Certainly the rarity value of imported glass beads, or, after they had become common, the changing fashions for different kinds of beads, kept the demand high. Locally-made beads of ostrich or mollusc-shell fragments were simply not regarded as good enough; and since the supply of such items as conus-shell discs or other objects from the sea was probably too limited, and since no glass industry was established on the Plateau that was capable of supplying the beads required, the people of the Plateau had little choice but to turn to the coastal traders.

The case of cloth was rather different. Cloth was a very well-established import by about 1500, but it seems reasonable to suppose that it had been imported far earlier, and that, as in the centuries after 1500, it was fundamental to the trade of the first half of the Later Iron Age. Certainly the dependence of Shona rulers in the early 1500s on the regular import of cloth from India was anything but a new development, and it is difficult to see the entire development of the East African coastal cities such as Kilwa as being based, in the one direction, entirely on beads.[54] The basic difference between the imports of cloth and beads as far as the Shona were concerned was that in the case of cloth the actual techniques of spinning and weaving — but not, it seems, of dyeing — were imported along with the cloth. By the time the Zimbabwe state and the non-Shona Ingombe Ilede culture were flourishing, perhaps by the fourteenth century, spinning was going on at several sites on and near the Plateau, and by the sixteenth century the growing of cotton and the weaving of cotton cloth were well established. Moreover, before long the technique of weaving had been applied to the fibres that came from the bark of certain trees.[55] It is therefore worth asking why cloth was needed and why, if it was needed, the people did not supply themselves and thus do without the external traders.

Before the introduction of cloth, the local equivalent on the Plateau had been skins, and even in the periods of greatest cloth imports the use of skins was never quite abandoned. Skins could be worked into a condition that made them fit for the highest in the land to wear: in the Changamire state of the eighteenth century, for example, the ruling Rozvi wore such skins.[56] Nevertheless, on the whole cloth was much preferred by the people. In a climate that could often be very cold, coarse cloth had an obvious value, and the request of an old man in the nineteenth century

that he might sleep in a blanket before he died has a convincing ring.[57] On the other hand, finer cloth was much in demand for personal clothing, and generally it seems to have been true that the finer the cloth, the richer the wearer. The local weavers of the Plateau and the Zambezi valley were able to make both kinds of cloth, coarse and fine, and while the coarser cloths were highly durable, the finer materials were worn alongside the best imported silks and embroidered fabrics by the rulers and their relatives; even today, traditional weavers can spin thread finer than that made by machines.[58] One way in which local cloth could not compete with Indian fabrics was that no local dyes seem to have been used until the seventeenth century. Thus, in the early sixteenth century, Muslim entrepreneurs were importing dyed Indian cloth, unravelling it and weaving the threads into locally-made cloth for resale, which may also have improved the closeness of the weave.[59]

One might well wonder why, if this was the case, the local cloth industry did not expand faster than it did. The answer seems to lie in the amount of time involved in weaving according to the method used, in the context of an economy in which the crop cycle was still the first priority. The horizontal loom that was employed seems to have been very slow to operate, and it appears therefore that locally made cloth was actually more expensive, in terms of man-hours expended, than the imported cloth.[60] In other words, where a village had only a limited number of man-hours out of the whole year — which was true for all villages — and where the growing and harvesting of crops, the herding of livestock, hunting and gathering, and a host of other activities had to be carried on, it might actually be more economical for people to spend their time digging for gold to trade for cloth rather than to weave it for themselves, although it would have been well within their technical capabilities, judging by the wide spread of spindle-whorls across the Plateau.[61] It was very noticeable that the areas that produced the most cloth in the sixteenth century were also the most drought-prone, and that the people, lacking gold, were probably forced to go much more into manufactures than they would have done if they had been more certain of getting good crops.[62] This sort of bias in the economy was, not surprisingly, common in most if not all of the dryland areas we know about.[63]

This brings us back to what was said earlier about the question of value judgements in the discussion of development, and the inevitability of what happened. On the one hand, it could be

argued that the whole development of trade from the first buildings at Manda and the first imported beads on the Plateau to the palaces of Kilwa and Zimbabwe represented 'development' with a strong connotation of approval. From a purely technical, architectural point of view, this was obviously so. On the other hand, it could be pointed out that Kilwa and Zimbabwe rose on the back of a trade that was ultimately based on the labour of people working very hard in return for trade goods that were worth, whether in India or on the Plateau, only a fraction of the value of the gold and ivory exported. It could be accurately said that this produced trade on unequal terms that continued through the periods of the Portuguese and the Mutapa, Torwa, and Changamire states up to the nineteenth century and the coming of modern capitalism.[64] Yet, given the conditions of life on the Plateau and the available technology, it is difficult to see what else could have happened once the Early Iron Age established an agriculturally-based economy there. Certainly the Shona, and probably the Early Iron Age people too, responded rapidly to all available opportunities to improve their lot. They tried better furnaces to get better hoes, they experimented with new Asian and American crops, they reacted swiftly to opportunities to market their crops, and in many ways they did their best either to improve or to extend their production.[65] Yet none of these efforts seem to have really solved the problem of drought and thus of assured food supplies. Consequently one had the contradictory image of Shona societies that were indeed developing, but all the time doing so with the shadow of *shangwa* not far away.

Perhaps in some ways this is too simple a picture, for in four years out of five the rains fell and all was well. But an underlying constraint of this kind did not need to be present in the foreground to be effective. In much the same way, the reasons given for the beginning of the cloth and bead trade are simplistic; once they had developed, they acquired their own dynamic, so that the rulers would struggle to get cloth to reward their courtiers or pay their armies and the poorest women would try to wear cloth, even though they could only afford a tiny strip that imperilled their modesty.[66] Here again, there was a contradiction: gold and ivory were of some use on the Plateau, as ornaments for the rich, but this local market seems to have been limited, just as the ability of the rulers to reciprocate with locally woven cloth seems also to have been limited.[67] Hence, the people of the Plateau had no choice but to turn to the traders of the Indian Ocean if they

wished to obtain the cloth and beads they wanted. And, as things stood, they had very little chance of obtaining favourable terms because the geography was against them. There were several ways in which goods could enter and leave the Plateau: in the far south-east across the lowveld there were, at least in later centuries, trails to the bay of Inhambane; there was the lower Sabi river, and the route to the offshore islands of Chiluane and Buene; there were overland routes through the eastern highlands to the Pungwe and Buzi rivers and the bay of Sofala; there was the whole Zambezi valley with routes running into it, as well as a lateral route that ran round the north end of the Inyanga plateau and connected the valley with Sofala; and, from the Zambezi, river routes went north-east, avoiding the delta, to the site of Quelimane. But, though Shona rulers in the interior had a choice of routes and could and often did use different ones at different times to avoid the exactions of other rulers on the usual route, all of these routes joined in the end, up the East African coast north-east of Quelimane. Consequently, a power that controlled one or more of the ports on the route to the cloth workshops of India could more or less dictate the prices at which cloth was to be sold on the Plateau. This would not have been so bad if different powers had been competing to buy Plateau gold and had thus undercut one another, but for nearly all the time the trade seems to have been dominated either by one power such as the Portuguese, who for all their weaknesses never actually lost their control of the coast, or by a trading cartel such as that which Mombasa and Kilwa were operating in 1505, which was credited with the ability to influence Shona politics far into the Plateau as a result.[68]

The end product of this was the contradiction noted above, and it made itself felt in an odd kind of love-hate relationship that underlies most of Shona-Portuguese relations, and which probably applied in the Muslim period also; the Shona rulers may very well have known that they were not getting full value for their gold and ivory or anything like it, yet for the reasons given above they simply could not afford to cut themselves and their people off from the supplies of imported goods. As a Portuguese writer put it, in 1683 when the Mutapa was openly suspicious of all Portuguese contacts as a result of bitter experience: 'these Kings are already accustomed to cloth. . .. It will be hard to go backwards. Having gold extracted as he orders, he will know: he will need someone to buy it.'[69] Thus, although inland Shona rulers could and often did go to war with the Portuguese, these

wars rarely lasted for long before overtures of peace were made. Even had the great rulers of the inland states been successful in their occasional attempts to dominate the coastal Shona, who were quite well aware of the value of their position as middlemen, they still could not have benefited greatly unless one trading power was prepared to break the monopoly and undercut its rivals.

On the other hand, it would be a mistake to exaggerate the power and influence of either the Muslims or the Portuguese. Although they made some great profits out of the trade with the Plateau, they never became so wealthy that they could threaten the independence of the Plateau for long. Nor was the wealth of the Plateau in gold and ivory so distributed that it was easy to extract, since it depended entirely upon the part-time efforts of agricultural communities who, if not allowed to carry out their agriculture in peace, were unable to survive as groups to carry out mining or elephant-hunting. The Muslims put their wealth into the spectacular buildings of Kilwa and other centres, and did so by imposing heavy taxes on traders going south that, probably not coincidentally, ensured that the wealth that passed through Sofala or Sena did not stay there to build a rival city. By 1505 Sofala was still just a thatched pole-and-*daga* village, and it seems doubtful if its ruler's revolt against Kilwa would have lasted long even if the Portuguese had not arrived.[70] The Portuguese adopted a different structure of trade and government with some similar features. They put most of their resources into maintaining an expensive military and naval establishment around the Indian Ocean, of which the fortress of Moçambique is a fair example; and consequently most Portuguese efforts around and on the Plateau were characterized by lack of finance. This, the lack of ready wealth and supplies in the interior, and the strength of the inland states, precluded any successful imitation of the *conquistadores* of the Americas. Significantly, the greatest successes scored by the Portuguese were by those individuals who had most closely copied the techniques of leadership, organization, and supply of the Shona rulers themselves.

This rather lengthy section on the economy is here for a good reason. Much of the rest of this book is devoted to political and ethnic history, with most of the attention being paid, perforce, to the doings of rulers and their dynasties. Yet, even though the evidence available has little to do with the economy, at first sight, the economy had a great deal to do with the evidence. Since each of the states, dynasties, and groups to be described was operating

in the same environment and in an economy which, by and large, seems to have changed remarkably little, a clear understanding of what was happening in the Plateau in the economic sphere is of fundamental importance.

iv. The rise and fall of the Zimbabwe state

A feature of the history of the Shona since they occupied the Plateau has been the formation of states. This term requires definition. Whereas the Shona were normally divided, throughout their history, into territories under rulers of which many were in turn subdivided into wards under subrulers and households, each made up of a number of villages under village heads, these territories varied greatly in size and their rulers varied equally in their wealth and power. It is therefore difficult to draw dividing lines on the scale between a large and powerful territory such as Teve, a medium-sized unit such as Bocha and a small area held by a minor ruler. But it is easy to distinguish between all of these on the one hand and four major Shona political units, on the other hand: Zimbabwe, which flourished in the south of the Plateau before about 1500; Torwa which existed around Khami in the south-west from the late fifteenth to the late seventeenth centuries; its successor, the Changamire state, which lasted until the 1840s; and the northern state of Mutapa which survived in one form or another from at least the fifteenth to the late nineteenth century.

For reasons that will be made clear, we have little more than archaeological evidence for the existence of the first two, but we can look forward briefly to the last two to show why all four can be termed 'states'. The basic difference between the Mutapa and Changamire territories and all their Shona neighbours was that they were able to raise large armies and exact tribute or intervene in the politics of other territories over long distances and for long periods. No matter how large and powerful some Shona-ruled territories such as Barwe or Manyika became, they were not able to do this. In the cases of both the Mutapa and the Changamire it is possible to distinguish between a large and fairly compact area under the close control of the rulers of one dynasty — whether they exercised that control through members of that dynasty or not — and a much larger region of fluctuating size which from time to time paid tribute to the overlord but which might at other times be independent or even at war with him. The frequency

with which tribute was paid would have a lot to do with the distance involved. These, then, would form the 'states' proper and their tributaries. There is very sketchy documentary evidence on the Torwa state and virtually none on Zimbabwe, but the sheer economic strength and social complexity revealed by the large-scale public works of these two makes it probable that they too conformed to this definition of the external attributes of statehood, and it is also probable that the distinction between 'state' and 'tributary area' applied to them.

Because they succeeded Zimbabwe, the rise of the Mutapa, Torwa, and Changamire states is not difficult to explain in the context of Shona history, because they were able to draw upon economic, political, and social techniques that had, to some extent, been pioneered by the state of Zimbabwe. But the way in which Zimbabwe started the whole process is not so easy to understand. Two facts are clear from the archaeology of the Plateau as a whole: there had been increasing trade between the Plateau and the East African coast from about the ninth century, yet none of the Shona cultures known to us from archaeology or documents show any traces of political or social traits borrowed from the Muslims of the coast that could explain the rise of the Zimbabwe state.[71] On the other hand, the rise of the state was obviously linked directly to the development of the economy. Therefore, it seems reasonable to interpret the rise of Zimbabwe in terms of general characteristics of Shona society that were allied to this economic development, on the assumption that Shona society as observed by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century and interpreted with the help of more recent evidence would not have been very different in its essentials from Shona society of a few centuries earlier. Even within this framework, however, the Zimbabwe state offers some problems, since the connection between the developing economy and the formation of a state was not quite as straightforward as it might appear.

Essentially, the chief problem is as follows: the Zimbabwe state, as will be shown below, developed locally in the environment of the southern Plateau, which however was not an important gold-producing area. Therefore, for the rulers of Zimbabwe to have accumulated enough power either to control the gold trade or to control gold production elsewhere, they must already have developed their wealth by other means; and in the Shona economy the only other means was that of cattle-herding. The history of the rise of Zimbabwe, therefore, appears to involve a group which,

basing its strength initially on its herds, managed to dominate enough of the gold trade to found a state structure. This, in turn, involved a rather complex and sensitive system of trade routes on the Plateau itself which joined up the goldfields with the sea routes.

The goldfields of the Plateau fell into two main blocks. One, the biggest, started in the south-west, crossed the west of the central part of the Plateau in the region of the sodic-soil zone described earlier, and curved round the northern edge in the general area of the Mazoe valley. The other was a much smaller field that straddled the eastern highlands about halfway down their length.[72] The evidence for the dating of the Shona mines is fragmentary and likely to remain so, because the mines were re-opened in the twentieth century; but whereas it is clear from the Portuguese documents that all of the goldfields of the north and east had at least been opened by about 1500, it seems likely that mining first started in the south-west. This is because there is no definite link between gold-mining and either the last of the northern Early Iron Age groups, the Maxton phase, or the early phases of the Harare and Musengezi cultures that replaced it; furthermore the relative poverty of the earlier Musengezi people would suggest that they were not carrying on a great deal of trade.[73] On the other hand, while these Musengezi people were living a relatively isolated existence at this stage, between about 1210 and 1290, much more impressive developments were taking place in the south-west. The only available radiocarbon dates for Shona mines both come from this region, and range from about 1210 to 1300,[74] and although this is limited evidence it does suggest that mining started in the south-west much earlier than in the north, especially if account is taken of the considerable growth in prosperity of the Leopard's Kopje culture of about that time.

The Leopard's Kopje culture, it will be recalled, was the first of the Shona groups to settle on the Plateau, from the tenth century onwards. At first, their settlements had been hardly more prosperous, except for their herds of cattle, than those of the Early Iron Age people who preceded them, but by the thirteenth century real changes in society were taking place that strongly suggest an overall increase in wealth. The settlements were occupied longer, they were much bigger, rough stonework was used to terrace hilltop living sites, more elaborate huts were made for the rulers, and there was evidence of much more trade with the coast, in the shape of beads.[75] The conclusion to be drawn from all this is that

the Leopard's Kopje people had developed both herding and gold-mining to a point where there was an actual surplus of wealth, in both livestock and imported goods such as cloth and beads. It would seem that all the ingredients for state formation were present, yet the irony is, that the Leopard's Kopje people did not reap the greatest benefit from their efforts and did not form a state, as far as the archaeological evidence can show this. They did have at least two centres in the Limpopo valley drylands in the south — possibly not as dry then as they are now — at Mapela and Mapungubwe; but although the latter site has attracted attention on account of its prominent position on a hill and the gold burials found there, its importance can be exaggerated. It is true that a great deal of labour went into the carrying of earth to the top of the hill, and that some elaborate huts were built there, but in the last resort there were only three people buried with gold ornaments and objects, and suggestions that Mapungubwe was a religious centre are based on a misunderstanding of the equivalent evidence for Zimbabwe. Given its position well to the south of the Leopard's Kopje gold-mining area, away from trade routes to the coast, it is remarkable that Mapungubwe developed as far as it did.[76]

The overall conclusion to be drawn from the evidence on the Leopard's Kopje culture, when it is considered that its people seem to have possessed the greatest resources in terms of cattle and gold on the Plateau in the first few centuries of the Shona settlement and to have exerted the greatest effort in terms of production, is that the culture represented a case of arrested development. This, of course, was true for all the Shona peoples of the Plateau, in that there was a lack of balance between the real value of what the Shona exported and what they imported, but in the case of the Leopard's Kopje people this was taken a step farther, in that the people who derived the most obvious benefit from their efforts belonged to a different culture within the Shona complex: the rulers of the Zimbabwe state.

To understand how this was possible, it is necessary to look at the way in which the Leopard's Kopje people were able to export their gold. In the first place, given the good communications that probably existed on the Plateau since the Stone Age as the result of hunters and traders passing on news, it is probable that the Leopard's Kopje people had a clear idea of the location of the various Muslim trading ports along the coast, from the mouth of the Sabi northwards to the mouths of the Zambezi. It is also likely that,

once regular trade was established, news of the varying terms of trade at the ports would travel rapidly along the trade routes. Consequently, if the evidence for the period from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth is any guide, Leopard's Kopje miners would have had a choice between taking their own gold to trade it at the coast or trading it locally with a trader from the coast, probably a Muslim Shona, at a lower price.[77] Since the small quantities of gold that were traded at any one time were not too bulky, and even the weights of cloth and beads that went the other way may not have been too heavy, the main problem of either the Leopard's Kopje trader or his coastal counterpart would probably have been to find enough men to guard his goods against robbery rather than to carry them. Certainly robberies were common enough.[78]

It would follow from this that trade routes need not necessarily have followed rivers, although where such rivers as the Sabi, Buzi, or Zambezi were navigable by canoes for short or long stretches they would be used. (This explains such trading sites as Ingombe Ilede or the islands of Chiluane and Buene south of Sofala.[79]) Nevertheless, long overland trails could be and were used, such as the route from the Mutapa state round the north end of the eastern highlands and down to Sofala.[80] Certainly, the eastern highlands were not an impassable barrier, and such gaps in the ranges as that which occurred in the territory of Manyika would offer an easy route. Overall, however, the most logical route for gold exports from the Leopard's Kopje people's area was due east or slightly north-east, across the southern edge of the Plateau and either down to the navigable lower Sabi or over the eastern highlands to the port of Sofala. In terms of distance, the routes to the north that led to the Zambezi were not so much longer, especially since such a lot of the travelling was by water, and later in the era of Zimbabwe these routes were to become important; but for the early period of the Leopard's Kopje culture's development the eastern routes seem to have been crucial. And here we return to the rise of the Zimbabwe state.

The Zimbabwe state arose out of the Gumanye culture, the second of the two Shona cultures to have settled the southern half of the Plateau. The Gumanye culture was, as has been pointed out, much like the other three early Shona cultures; but within this similarity it was distinct from them, mainly in its pottery tradition.[81] Its villages were found across the southern part of the Plateau from the middle Mtilikwe to the Lundi, and although its

people had many cattle, judging from the animal remains and the figurines that were common in their villages, they were anything but wealthy in terms of imported goods and, therefore, by implication, in terms of goods that could be exported.[82] Nevertheless, one of the dynasties of the Gumanye people appears to have managed to build up enough power to dominate the trade between the south-western goldfields of the Leopard's Kopje people and the coast, and this led to the foundation of a state at Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe (the term seems to be derived from the Shona term *dzimba dzemabwe*, houses of stone, and was widely used from the sixteenth century to mean Shona capitals of any type) arose in a complex of rocky hills and valleys on the southern edge of the Plateau just to the west of the Mtilikwe river. It is not known precisely why this particular site was chosen, for generally similar environmental conditions could be found over a much wider area. There is no evidence, as will be explained later in this chapter, that a religious shrine existed there before the state arose. On the other hand, there are suggestions that whereas the nearest reef mines were not rich enough to warrant working, there were some alluvial goldfields in the river valleys nearby, not nearly as rich as the south-western mines but sufficient to aid the foundation of the state.[83] But perhaps the simplest answer is that those who started the whole process did not foresee the complexity of the society that they were founding and therefore had no special reason for choosing the site.

The site itself included a whale-backed hill, crowned with great boulders and with a steep, smooth rock face on its southern side, overlooking several broad valleys and lower granite hills nearby. A Gumanye village was established on the top of the western end of the hill in the late eleventh century, and its cattle enclosures and millet fields would have been spread out in the valleys around, to form a site territory which, because of the nearby hills, would probably have had a most irregular shape on the map. At some time after about 1100, this society began to develop into a state. The evidence for this comes from a sequence of building and changes in the local pottery tradition allied to an increase in imported goods, all of which made up the most spectacular aspect of the Zimbabwe state. The exact dating of all this is uncertain, but the process was far advanced, although not complete by any means, by about 1300.[84] Indeed, dates from an outlying *zimbabwe* on the coast to the south-east suggest that this level of advancement may have been reached by about 1200.[85]

In outline, what happened was that the Gumanye people, or, to be more accurate, a ruling dynasty of the Gumanye people, began to grow more wealthy after about 1100. They began to make superior huts with walls made of thick *daga* rather than poles-and-*daga*, and then they started to make use of the natural tendency of much of the local granite to break off in even sheets, as described earlier, in order to build walls. These walls were used to enclose or screen the huts of the rulers from the gaze of the ordinary people, and the social stratification that this implies was echoed in the pottery styles, in that a special class of pottery was developed for the rulers to keep liquids in — almost certainly beer — while they were served with ordinary foods that were prepared elsewhere on the site.[86] This development was first apparent on the hill and a number of spots up and down the valley at Zimbabwe, where stone walls in an early style that were used to enclose the rulers' huts have been dated to about 1300, 1310, and 1360.[87]

How was this development possible? The most obvious answer is that the rulers at Zimbabwe were beginning to tap the wealth that was travelling between the south-western goldfields and the coast. Shona rulers in the sixteenth century are known to have tried to control the trade that passed through their lands, and they were evidently following the example set by Zimbabwe much earlier. It may well be wondered how the Zimbabwe rulers did this, for, although Zimbabwe lay on the general trade route, it was not in such a position that those who wanted to avoid paying tax could not spare themselves the annoyance by making a detour to the north or south. The simplest answer is that the rulers of Zimbabwe already possessed enough men to compel the traders not to do this. In short, the Zimbabwe state rose by exerting military strength to benefit from the exertions of others, specifically, the Leopard's Kopje people. It has been suggested that the architecture of Zimbabwe does not have a military function, and that therefore the state could not have had a military foundation.[88] This misses the point that the whole effort made would have been offensive, not defensive, and that at least two of the Shona states known from documents to have raised large armies, the Mutapa and Changamire, did not have military architecture either: defensive walls are made by the weaker party in most cases. More to the point, once the Zimbabwe state had established a presence over an area wide enough to dominate the trade routes, major military efforts would not be necessary as long as the taxes levied were not so high as to encourage people to avoid them. As for the foundation of this body of armed men, few of whom would have been anything like full-time warriors, the rise of the cattle herds of the Gumanye culture, and the implications this would have had in a society where cattle were used to acquire wives and thus eventually relatives and supporters, supplies the simplest answer.

From these beginnings, the Zimbabwe state developed in three main ways: the life style of the rulers became ever more elaborate, the condition of the people at the capital became more urbanized, and the culture as a whole began to spread over the rest of the Plateau. The first and second features are known to us only through archaeology, but the third can be linked to a certain extent to documentary and traditional evidence. Of the first two, only the first is at all well covered in most works on Zimbabwe, but it can be argued that the second is of more real significance, in that it involved the lives of more people.

Between about 1300 and about 1450, the Zimbabwe state became very prosperous, as it succeeded in increasing its grip on the gold trade and, probably, building up its cattle herds even further. This wealth was reflected in the life style of the rulers. It became possible to finance skilled builders, descended from the first wall builders, who improved the stone building technique, while at the same time the new wealth made it possible to divert labour from the agricultural cycle into the cutting, dressing, carrying, and laying of stone for the walls on a much grander scale. Additions were made to the walls on the hill, new stone enclosures were built around more ruling-class huts in the valley, and major changes were made to one of the existing wall-and-hut complexes there: an existing screening wall was partly rebuilt and an opening was cut in it to permit access to a solid stone tower of a curved, conical shape. Around the whole complex a continuous wall was built, pierced by entrances under wooden lintels; although it varied considerably in height, thickness, plan, and construction it still represented the best and most impressive construction in the state.

These walls, then, were the outer signs of the wealth of the rulers who lived in the huts behind them, screened even more than before from the gaze of the ordinary people. There were other signs of their wealth. There were relatively few huts within the buildings, so that the rulers had far more living space than the ordinary people. Their pottery was different, and was supplemented by a limited amount of imported ceramics, and an astonishing variety of imported goods in general was brought in. Judg-

ing from the conditions of the sixteenth century, the cloth that was imported would have included the finest silks and embroidered materials. A proportion of the gold that was brought in was not exported but was worked by local goldsmiths into ornaments, and there were even some iron gongs of the kind used by rulers north of the Zambezi that had been imported. In short, the rulers of Zimbabwe lived in considerable luxury, and this situation seems to have lasted up to the end of the state, probably in the last half of the fifteenth century.[89]

The most important questions that remain to be asked about the rulers of Zimbabwe involve their precise identity and the nature of their power. Unfortunately, this is exactly where archaeology is at its weakest, and documents and traditions have to be used with the utmost care. This is especially true for traditions, since they would have to have transmitted information accurately for over four centuries in order to tell us anything useful about Zimbabwe. As the next chapter will show, this is usually beyond the capability of traditions. We do know from archaeology and analysis of the pottery that the rulers of Zimbabwe were Shona-speakers descended from the people of the Gumanye culture. But so far, no tradition has successfully identified any specific Shona dynasty with the rulers at Zimbabwe itself. A tradition found among the Rozvi and others of the modern Rusape and Wedza districts refers to a ruler named Chikurawadyembewu who was descended, although not in the male line, from a NeMbire dynasty, and this has gained a certain popularity in textbooks without any supporting evidence being offered; but this appears on the face of it to refer to the foundation of the Changamire state in the late seventeenth century, and no evidence has been brought forward to prove that it is actually at least three centuries older.[90] Another tradition, of the Mutapa dynasty which can be shown by documents to have been flourishing in the north by at least the late fifteenth century, has been interpreted to show that the Mutapa rulers had previously ruled at Zimbabwe; but it will be shown in the next chapter that this tradition, which is even more widely known than the former one, does not prove this, although the Mutapa dynasty did derive from a branch of the Zimbabwe culture. Since no other tradition on the identity of the rulers of Zimbabwe is more convincing than these two, it follows that we do not know the exact names of either the rulers of Zimbabwe or their people, though it is clear that they were indeed Shona.

As for the way in which the rulers exercised their power, or how they derived that power, the majority of books written so far have tended to stress the role of religion. Before going into details, however, it is important that we remember two points. Firstly, as Zimbabwe ceased to be a state by about 1500, any traditions about its religion would be very old and so on the fringes of reliability. Secondly, as there was apparently a close connection between the Zimbabwe state and the Mutapa state of the north, in terms of their common origins, it follows that there was probably not a great deal of difference between the way in which the Portuguese observed the Mutapas to be ruling in the sixteenth century and the way of the Zimbabwe rulers only a century earlier. A great deal of debate concerning Zimbabwe has centred upon what have been described as 'ritual objects': carven soapstone birds, female figurines, phalli, bowls and monoliths, stone monoliths, the conical tower and its smaller replicas, the chevron pattern in the outer wall of the great building complex in the valley and even a cave on the hill that contained ore nodules. 'Ritual objects' have been accurately described as those 'whose functional use defies the imagination of their discoverers', and most of the finds of this kind at Zimbabwe fall into the category of objects whose significance could be either religious or political.[91] Unless there were major differences between the Zimbabwe state and the Mutapa state, however, it seems fairly certain that the birds, monoliths, and conical towers were neither worshipped as gods nor revered as symbols of the dead; the Portuguese, who were much interested in this topic, reported that the Shona of the Mutapa state were emphatically not idolators, and it is difficult to believe that Zimbabwe's rulers were that different.[92] The bowls were probably divining bowls, but these were not central to any known Shona ruler's power. As for the cave, it is true that under some weather conditions it is sometimes possible to hear words spoken in it down in the valley, but theories that link this feature with the Mwari cave-cult of the Matopo hills in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries ignore the actual way in which this cult operated. Nor was Zimbabwe a major Mwari centre in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, as careful reference to the evidence shows. Nor were traditions offered by spirit mediums to be trusted on this issue, as will be shown in the next chapter.[93] In general, looking at the history of the Mutapa and Changamire states, it is unlikely that religion contributed much to the power of Zimbabwe's rulers. Admittedly contemporary documents show that the rulers of the two later states were revered and treated with exaggerated respect at times, but this

was more probably a result than a cause of their ability to command and supply large forces of armed men. Certainly, no specifically religious institution in Shona history, such as a Mwari cave-cult centre or a spirit medium's base, has approached the power of the ordinary Shona dynasties of secular rulers. It is far more likely that Zimbabwe's rulers based their power on the strength and numbers of the kinfolk of the main dynasty, whose numbers were kept up by the state's cattle herds.

It can be argued that far too much attention has been paid to the rulers of Zimbabwe, who formed only a small proportion of the centre of the state. Certainly the ordinary people are only now beginning to receive the attention they deserve. The huts of the ordinary people and their less elaborate pottery have been found in great numbers in the valley at Zimbabwe, on both sides of the low, rough wall that enclosed the site to the west, and farther west right up the nearest hills in that direction. There was also a great number to the east along the valley, and there were further stone walls, very low but of the authentic style, that went with further settlement on and near the rocky hills nearby. A total figure for the population of the whole valley cannot be obtained until the whole area has been surveyed, but recent estimates have varied from 5,000 to 11,000 people, and these may even be exceeded.[94]

The effect of having so many people on a single site may easily be imagined: this was urban living. Inside the wall that enclosed the main site, the huts were so close together that their eaves must have been nearly touching.[95] Judging from more modern settlements of the Shona, Zimbabwe must have had an appearance and atmosphere far different from that of today. A great deal of the valley, now green, must have been trampled bare by the passage of feet. From cockcrow to evening, the noise must have been tremendous. In certain weather conditions the smoke from hundreds if not thousands of cooking fires would have created conditions approaching that of smog. And, since so far there is no evidence for more elaborate arrangements, the people cannot have gone very far to defecate, with the result that disease may have been as much a factor at Zimbabwe as in some of its European counterparts. Zimbabwe has often been viewed through an aura of romance, but perhaps a cloud of smoke and flies would be more appropriate from a standpoint of archaeological accuracy. The contrast between the rulers and the ruled must have been quite striking.

This picture is only an aspect of the territorial approach to archaeology, which is concerned more with total economic systems than with impressive buildings and sequences of pottery and imported goods, and in the same way this approach forces us to look at the site territory as a whole. As there is no evidence to the contrary, it seems likely that most of the women of the valley, if not the men, would have been engaged in some form of agriculture, either of millets or — if it was indeed the case that the rulers of Zimbabwe exacted a sizeable grain tribute from more remote areas — green vegetables to serve as *usavi* (relish for the main meal). They would have had to walk some way to find suitable land for their fields, and presumably as the site got bigger and bigger and the nearer fields were exhausted they would have had to walk farther and farther. Moreover, much of the surrounding country was too mountainous or rocky for agriculture. In a sense the seeds of Zimbabwe's ultimate decline may have lain in the reluctance of its women to walk increasingly long distances to tend the fields and cut firewood. The men, when not helping the women in the fields or building walls or making things for the rulers, were probably occupied with the traditional provinces of their sex, hunting and herding. So far we have no idea of where the hunting grounds around Zimbabwe would have been or how rich they were, but sites that may well have been outlying cattle stations of Zimbabwe, complete with Zimbabwe pottery, are beginning to be discovered as far away as the Tokwe valley. Again, only a thorough environmental study and field surveys will show just where the grazing areas are likely to have been.[96]

All this, of course, concerns the single site of Zimbabwe itself, but Zimbabwe was not the only site of the Zimbabwe culture for long. Small copies of Zimbabwe — the same elaborate huts surrounded by stone walls — were built over a great deal of the Plateau from about 1300 onwards, to the east along the southern edge of the Plateau, far into the south-west, and in the centre and north. In the outlying parts of the Plateau where there was no granite suitable for building in the style developed at Zimbabwe, such rocks as gave the nearest approach possible were used: laminar schists east of the Inyanga plateau in the Eastern Highlands and limestone on the coast in the far south-east.[97] The styles of these buildings have been examined and some of them have been excavated and dated, but in one important respect archaeology cannot tell us what we need to know. Basically all of these buildings belonged to the Zimbabwe culture, but archaeology cannot tell us

whether they were all under the political domination of the Zimbabwe state or, if they were, how long they remained so. Formerly, books used to imply that, because the Zimbabwe culture was found over most of the Plateau from the Kalahari to the sea and from the south-eastern lowveld to the Zambezi valley, and because Zimbabwe was often confused with the Mutapa state, therefore Zimbabwe ruled an 'empire' of the same extent.[98] As is suggested above, this was probably not the case, for although those buildings close to Zimbabwe must have belonged to members of the Zimbabwe state itself, and those in the middle distance to its tributaries, those far away may well have been independent. Unfortunately, it is not yet possible to indicate where the boundaries between these three classes lay even at one time. This problem will be discussed in detail in the next chapter in connection with the northern and eastern *zimbabwe* but it also raises questions about the overall development of the Zimbabwe state, its ultimate end, the development of trade routes on the Plateau and the rise of the Torwa state at Khami as Zimbabwe declined.

Briefly, the facts are as follows: as Zimbabwe grew in size and wealth in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a new trading centre arose on the north bank of the middle Zambezi below the Kariba gorge. The people of this place belonged to a grouping known to us as the Ingombe Ilede culture. This culture was centred on the Urungwe plateau south of the Zambezi, and it was there that the biggest villages of the people were to be found. Their pottery belonged to a class distinct from that of the cotradition of the rest of the people of the Plateau, and it is unlikely that they were Shona-speaking; fairly reliable traditions of the Shona who later occupied the Urungwe plateau suggest that they were the Mbara, who also figured in an early Portuguese account of the area.[99] Apart from their skill in making copper crosses (a useful shape, apparently, for carrying refined copper), the Mbara on the Plateau were not much different from the Shona, but this was not true of the Ingombe Ilede settlement itself. There, eleven people who had lived in the fourteenth or early fifteenth centuries were buried in a midden site, and whereas most of these had beads and copper or iron ornaments, four had been wealthy people with much gold jewellery, cloth, and prestige goods.[100] From this, it can be inferred that the people of the Ingombe Ilede included some rich traders, for the area was not in itself a wealthy one. The main question is to decide with whom they were trading. Judging from eighteenth-century trade patterns, the Ingombe Ilede area was able to draw a trade in ivory and copper from north of the Zambezi, but it was also attracting a gold trade from the south-west of the Plateau by a route that ran past the Mafungabusi plateau. Certainly there seems to be little doubt that the gold for the ornaments of the rich people at Ingombe Ilede came from the Plateau, and although it is possible that this was the only gold and that the wealth of the traders came entirely from the ivory trade, it seems very likely that, as in later centuries, the Ingombe Ilede area was taking part in the gold trade of the south-western Plateau. Moreover, when the Muslim pilot Ahmad ibn-Madjid wrote of the trade of the Zambezi in 1502, he linked it to the power of the 'Muna-batur', and only ten years later the south-west of the Plateau was called 'Butua'.[101] From the point of view of the Leopard's Kopje people of the south-west there may not have been a great deal to choose between trading to Sofala or Ingombe Ilede in terms of overland distance, though the goods that came through Ingombe Ilede had a longer water route from East Africa; but it is very difficult to see how the rulers of Zimbabwe could have welcomed the rise of Ingombe Ilede if it was trading with the south-west of the Plateau, for such a trade could only be skirting the area of greatest control of the Zimbabwe state, the continued wealth of which rested a good deal on the continued dominance of trade. In effect, it is far more likely that the two centres were rivals rather than allies. The existence of goods from the Ingombe Ilede area at Zimbabwe or other southern centres does not necessarily indicate friendship, for such goods may be acquired in war; in any case, few wars among the Shona were so intensive as to prevent all contact even when they were in progress. There may even be a connection between the rise of Zimbabwe to its greatest splendour and the rise of Ingombe Ilede: if Zimbabwe's exactions on the gold trade to the coast were becoming extortionate because it was necessary to finance ever more elaborate building, some of the Leopard's Kopje people may have tried to avoid Zimbabwe's sphere of influence by using the northern route. This brings the westward expansion of the Zimbabwe culture into the argument.

West of the Lundi a great many stone buildings of the overall Ruins culture, which embraced both the Zimbabwe and the later Khami cultures, were built, but most of these belonged either to the Khami culture which flourished after the fall of Zimbabwe, or to a variant of the overall culture in which the full architectural skill of the Zimbabwe culture was absent; therefore, it is not certain whether the population was descended from the Zimbabwe or

Leopard's Kopje cultures. About nine, however, were true Zimbabwe buildings and represented the Zimbabwe culture proper.[102] Whether or not they represented the Zimbabwe state as well is unknown, but they could represent an attempt by the Zimbabwe state to tighten its grip on the gold-producing south-west. Whether or not they remained under Zimbabwe's control, or what relationship they had to the rise of the Torwa state at Khami is as yet unknown.

The Zimbabwe state, which was flourishing in the first half of the fifteenth century, seems to have come to a relatively sudden end by the beginning of the sixteenth century. We know this because at coastal sites there was a gradual change in the style of ceramics that were imported by Muslim traders and passed on to the rulers of the Plateau, in small numbers; greenish celadons were replaced by blue-and-white porcelains, and this replacement was almost complete by about 1500.[103] Since the amount of imported pottery was increasing up to the seventeenth century, had Zimbabwe carried on as a major trading centre it would certainly have started to import blue-and-white porcelains, just as the Torwa state did in the south-west. But as only two tiny fragments of this kind of pottery have been found at Zimbabwe, it was obviously not trading on any significant scale. Even if trade was not the sole support of Shona states, and it is clear that it was not, there is no denying the fact that all Shona states traded and imported ceramics; Zimbabwe therefore can no longer have been a state by about 1500. Nor is there any real evidence that it was occupied by more than a handful of people after this date. The Portuguese documents that refer to it are confused and ambiguous, the traditions tend to suggest that it was deserted, and since there were sterile layers at the hill ruin above the highest Zimbabwe occupation it appears that at least the hill was deserted. It was certainly not a religious centre on any available evidence.

Various reasons have been advanced for the decline and fall of Zimbabwe. It cannot have been caused by the Portuguese, or by any expansion of the Mutapa state's power, since the Torwa state at Khami was growing powerful at the same time and was using the same trade routes as Zimbabwe. The most convincing suggestion is that Zimbabwe simply grew too big to be supported by its environment. As the account given earlier of Zimbabwe at its greatest extent suggests, the mere presence of so many people at one spot would have seriously affected the ability of its site territory to supply crops, firewood, game, grazing, and all the other necessities

of life. A *shangwa* at a point when the population had reached a critical level would have destroyed the ability of the site territory to support it, and in the absence of a technology that could transport sufficient supplies over long distances the only alternatives would have been to disperse the people or move the state structure itself.[105] It is also possible that, as suggested very much earlier when the reasons for Early Iron Age migrations were being discussed, matters did not have to reach a point where one single *shangwa* brought about the effect described above. Competition for the available resources between different branches of the ruling class and their supporters might have led to quarrels over grazing, hunting ranges and over outlying areas even before the croplands became exhausted, and these might well have led to civil wars that made it impossible for the state to continue. Evidence for the destruction by fire of ruling-class dwellings at Zimbabwe would not prove that a civil war had happened, because in the Mutapa state it was the custom that when the ruler abandoned a living-place of his own accord it was burnt down, but on the other hand it would not argue against such a possibility.[106]

The obvious successor to Zimbabwe as both a culture and a state was the Torwa state at Khami; but even before the fall of Zimbabwe the Mutapa state was flourishing in the north and paradoxically we know more about this lesser state because it was closer to Portuguese observers. So far, we have been able to follow the course of Shona history up to about 1450 — an arbitrary date for the last years of Zimbabwe — more or less as a single trail. Now the paths divide, and before returning to the limited evidence on Zimbabwe's true successor at Khami in the south-west, we go north to look at the evidence on the rise of the northern and eastern Shona, including the people of the Mutapa state, and at their way of life in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

CHAPTER 2

The Origins of the Northern and Central Shona before 1650

i. Traditions in Shona history

It is in the north of the Plateau that the first definite date in Shona history occurs: *c.*1490, the date of a civil war in the Mutapa state, reckoned by Diogo de Alcáçova in 1506 to have occurred sixteen or seventeen years earlier.[1] Since Alcáçova also mentions five rulers' names, two of which figure more or less prominently in Shona traditions, it is from *c.*1490 that documents and traditions come to the aid of archaeology in giving us a picture of the course of Shona history, and it is from this time that archaeology begins to drop out of our reckoning except for the south-west. Archaeology and documentary history are studies that are more or less universal in their approaches, but traditional history as a discipline has no uniform application even within Africa, and in individual African societies an over-enthusiastic use of traditions to reconstruct the past has often been demolished because its user has failed to make an adequate use of historical method.[2] Since the remainder of this book will use traditions to a considerable extent, it must be shown just how far Shona traditions can be considered to reflect the real history of the people and, in general, why some aspects of them have been accepted and others rejected. This section of this chapter, therefore, breaks the course of Shona history between the fall of Zimbabwe and the rise of the northern Shona to enter briefly into historical theory.[3]

One of the most surprising facts about the traditions of the Shona is that there appear to have been no official traditional historians or groups of people with the special task of recalling the past. This was true not only of the less important dynasties, but also, apparently, of the ruling dynasties of the Mutapa and Changamire states as well: for, though Portuguese documents and traditions agree that the rulers of these states were surrounded by

elaborate courts, none of the surviving fragments of these states appear to preserve any memory of a class of 'historians'. Nor, for that matter, do any of the long-established territories such as Manyika, Buhera, or Maungwe, that maintained ritual practices like those of the great states. At any given moment, Shona societies have each had their acknowledged 'experts' on their histories, but these 'experts' have varied very widely in their status, not only between territories, but even within the same territory over a period of time. The 'expert' on the history of a territory might be a man with the hereditary ritual position of *nevanje* or *magwee* or else someone related to the ruler by an existing or former marriage, such as a *sekuru* or a *tezvara*.[4] Very often the ruler himself was also the acknowledged 'expert' on the history. Yet in no known case has one of these 'experts' succeeded in making his status hereditary either within his lineage or his office, although as will be suggested below his children may well have acquired an above-average knowledge of the local traditional history. In any case, history is rarely, if ever, the monopoly of one man or woman in Shona societies. On the contrary, any gathering that includes a reasonable number of old people will contain those who can and often do duplicate, or argue with, the version of their history, given by the 'experts'; and the more important an issue, the greater the contribution of these others will tend to be.

It has been suggested that the *svikiro* (spirit medium) of a *mhondoro* or *mudzimu* (ancestral spirit) corresponds in Shona society to the professional historians of other African peoples. Certainly the mediums themselves and many Shona people believe this, and a knowledge of the history relevant to the particular spirit is usually regarded as essential if the medium is to be accepted as genuine by his or her followers.[5] But it does not follow that historians should believe this. The mediums and many, but not all, Shona are convinced of the good faith of the mediums. But when it comes to the question of the accuracy of historical information put forward it is necessary for the historian to decide whether or not he believes in the existence of the spirits of real personalities from the past speaking through the lips of present-day mediums. Although not every piece of historical information offered by a medium can be rationally explained, most of such material can be explained by a more commonplace process.[6] It follows, therefore, that the medium of a Shona ancestral spirit has access to no more actual data than any of his neighbours, even though his calling may lead him consciously or unconsciously to seek out that

information. Indeed, a famous medium may receive visits from people living far away from his own territory who will tend to supply him with information on their own lineages and the histories that go with them, with the result that his version of his — or his spirit's — lineage history will tend to pick up elements that do not belong there, and so may actually be less accurate than that of one of his secular neighbours.[7]

How, then, does an 'expert' in Shona traditional history emerge? This is a question that deserves a full study in itself, but from a general observation of informants it would appear that the following version is more or less accurate: Shona traditions are concerned basically with genealogical relationships and land rights. From his earliest years, a Shona boy begins to learn about these by overhearing the conversations of his elders. He will start with the relationships between his father's and mother's lineages, and by his teens he will have a more or less accurate idea of the distinctions between his family and its neighbours. As marriages, inheritances, and other such matters are discussed over the years, so he will be able to acquire more and more information. In the same way, over the years he will learn more and more about land rights and the reasons for the existence of boundaries with the neighbours and with other Shona groups or the Europeans. Again, this knowledge will be increased by talk at local council meetings and court cases. In short, just as a European can often recite a sketchy version of a local tradition simply from having heard it repeated several times in a week, so a Shona man can pick up a great deal of historical data just by listening over a lifetime. It follows that traditions passed on in such a way could hardly be 'formal' or 'fixed' in their shape: though most of the content of a tradition and a surprising number of phrases are passed on faithfully with each retelling, differences and variations creep in according to the abilities of each link in the human chain. Naturally, not everyone has a good memory or an interest in the subject and not everyone remains in the same community for all of his life, and so after a few decades only some of the members of the generation begin to acquire the reputation of being 'experts'. Some of these may seek out even older people, and a few try to link up facts in textbooks with their traditions, but obviously these last have appeared only relatively recently. In the early twentieth century the officials of the Native Department often complained that the old men who knew the traditions were dying out and that the young men knew nothing, yet these same

young men are the 'experts' of today: in Shona traditional history, knowledge goes hand in hand with age.[8]

A second major fact to be borne in mind about Shona traditions is that, just as there has been no universally accepted common name for the Shona-speaking peoples until very recently, so Shona traditions have very rarely tried to explain the history of the whole Shona people, and such attempts as have been made by such writers as Aron Marwodzi or M.V.J. Rukara have occurred in a very special environment.[9] Partly, no doubt, this is because no single state organization can be shown to have dominated the entire Plateau at any one time, but even in such areas as the lands of the Mutapa state, where a single dynasty was dominant for centuries, no uniform history has emerged among the traditions. Certain features and myths are held in common, to be sure, but not all of these are specifically 'Mutapa' in character, and some seem to come from a common pool of Shona myth that dates much further back. Shona traditions, in short, refer to an individual dynasty, that is, a line of hereditary rulers and their relatives, within its own territory, and rarely if ever try to deal with more elaborate matters. This, as will be shown later, is one of their great virtues and one of the reasons why they have been used to such an extent in this book, for many of the points that the traditions make are not apparent to those who pass them on.

Shona historical traditions, however much they tend to differ in details, have a remarkably similar structure which is concerned with the existence of a given group of related people in a given territory. They may have widely differing myths attached to them, but in general these myths are used to illustrate or explain certain features of the genealogy or the rights to the land. Shona traditions usually start with a point of origin, describe a migration to a new land, the conquest of the new land, the course of politics, and the succession in the ruling dynasty after that, and more recent events leading up to the present and eventually to the personal reminiscences of the informant. Within this framework there are many variations, and in many ways the differences are more important than the similarities. In discussing the point of origin, for example, some Shona traditions mention some place north of the Zambezi, and it is often called *tanganyika*. It is unlikely, however, that this reflects reality. Certainly, the Portuguese from the sixteenth century onwards recorded very few southward crossings of large groups of people over the lower Zambezi, and the traditions of the north-western and western Shona do not suggest that

any such groups crossed the middle Zambezi. Nor is it likely that such traditions reflect the original movements of the Shona before the tenth to the twelfth centuries, for it will be argued below that few Shona traditions predate the sixteenth century. What these traditions probably reflect is a conclusion arrived at by Shona oral historians who argued from the general geography of southern Africa that they must have come from the north. The name *tanganyika* means 'beginning country', and before 1900 it probably did not refer to either the lake or the German-ruled territory.[10]

On a more general basis, Shona traditions name places of origin that are often thought of as specific places on or near the Plateau from which the ruling group then migrated. Sometimes a point of origin such as 'Guruuswa' can be shown to refer to a type of environment rather any one place, but others do appear to refer to real Shona territories, although sometimes it is not always clear whether the traditions refer to a spot 'in the direction of', 'at', or 'beyond' the place named. In many cases, the totems of the ruling groups at both the point of origin and the territory eventually settled are the same, and although in a few cases this may have been the result of the second group claiming a fictitious relationship with the first because of the frequent linkage of the latter with that totem, in most cases the second group can recall enough details either of the point of origin or of its ruling dynasty to support their claim. In many cases, too, the second dynasty can recall having passed through areas in which, unknown to many of its members, there still live small groups that broke off from the original migration. Thus, while it will be argued that some claimed origins in Shona traditions are false or at least unproven, such claims can frequently be accepted with varying degrees of certainty.[11]

The Shona traditions of migrations are those upon which the suggested migrations of the Early and Later Iron Age peoples in the previous chapter were based. Not all traditions give details of the routes chosen, but enough do so to suggest that the kind of fifty-mile stage that was postulated was quite common. Traditions mention the passing of certain hills, often rather obscure ones, the passage through river valleys and, in one or two cases, the skirting of dry or sandy areas unsuitable for agriculture. Typically, such traditions mention several sites successively occupied by the migrating group as it approached the ultimate area of settlement; this suggests both a closer knowledge of the local countryside by modern informants and difficulties experienced by the migrants in

finding a site that suited them.[12] Not all such migration traditions can be trusted, of course. The fact that the word *kuchamhembe* can mean north or south could have caused confusion,[13] while myths based on a pun on the title of the Zvimba dynasty can bias a tradition as far as direction is concerned.[14] Moreover, modern references to the hills Harare and Ntabayezinduna probably owe more to modern rail or bus travel than exact routes followed in the past, though they do give a general idea of the direction meant.[15]

Shona traditions vary in their versions of what happened when a dynasty arrived in a new territory. In some accounts, it is claimed that the land was empty when the people arrived. In some cases, this was theoretically possible, for it must not be forgotten that the total population of the Plateau before *c.*1900 was far less than the population of today, and many areas were simply uninhabited *deve* forest, although, as suggested earlier, it is unlikely that any area was not claimed by someone, if only a hunter-gatherer band. But in many cases such claims are suspect, for reasons to be discussed below. Where Shona traditions refer to the existence of an earlier population, their references to them depend a great deal upon the extent to which that earlier population has maintained a political identity. Where they survive either as independent neighbours or as subjected groups under their own sub-rulers, they are nearly always treated in traditions as being more or less like the immigrants. Where, however, the original people have more or less vanished as a distinct group, having been either assimilated completely or driven far away, their appearance in the immigrants' traditions becomes more and more coloured by myth. Their names are remembered in some cases, but in others they are given generalized names such as *mayisiri, mandionerepi,* or *maguu*. They are often seen as little people of enormous agility, skilled hunters, and for that reason it has often been thought that their appearance in traditions represents the survival of genuine memories of the hunter-gatherers of the Late Stone Age. But these elements of the traditions cannot be logically separated from others which do not fit the image of hunter-gatherers, however apparently wild. Some of these people are thought to have been ignorant of fire or any kind of clothing, for example, and others are reported to have had four eyes or to have been extremely aggressive. More important is the fact that, where the migration of the immigrant group can be dated very roughly, it can be found from the archaeology that the dominant group in the area into

which they moved was not any kind of hunter-gatherer band but a settled agricultural population of either the Early or Later Iron Ages, or even a branch of the Zimbabwe culture. In short, where an earlier group has not survived as a political force it has tended to be treated as different from the immigrants in their traditions or ignored altogether. The reason for this is not difficult to find; like practically everybody else in the world, the Shona do not like to admit having dispossessed anybody in taking over land, and like nineteenth-century Europeans in the Americas, Africa, or Australasia they will, when possible, try to portray their predecessors as unpersons who were not as cultured as themselves and therefore could be dispossessed without any moral qualms.[16]

Once established in the new land, the new dynasty's history is usually expressed in traditions in terms of a gradually expanding family tree leading to the entire living population of today. The succession of rulers is given, and although a study of Shona dynasties in general shows no uniform system of succession even with one single dynasty, there is undoubtedly a tendency towards the following systems; the succession of brother by brother; the rotation of the succession between houses descended from brothers; direct succession from father to son. Consequently, a Shona genealogy is not simply a list of rulers. On the other hand, since the Shona reckon descent in the male line and the mother's lineage is apparently not remembered for more than a few generations, Shona genealogies exaggerate the pyramidical shape of twentieth-century genealogies — where a much increased survival of children past infancy has led to a local population explosion. This gives the impression of a tiny population in the past made up almost entirely of males of the ruling dynasty. For this reason, the names of almost everybody except the men of the ruling dynasties of the Shona are forgotten by Shona traditions, and thus no account based largely on traditions can be more than an 'Outline' of what really happened.[17]

It may well be wondered how accurate even such an outline can be. As in problems of history everywhere, there is no simple answer: each case depends upon the specific evidence. In view of some of the criticisms of traditions that have been made elsewhere, and indeed, of the criticisms that have been made in this work, it is perhaps worth pointing out some of the virtues of Shona traditions. Firstly, they appear to have been preserved with a surprising degree of consistency over the eighty-odd years since they were first committed to writing, and although there have been losses

and changes of information over time, in most cases the basic framework of each tradition has remained more or less the same. Secondly, there has been relatively little blurring of traditions even where different groups live close together; even where as many as four dynasties are crowded into the same area today, each will tend to preserve its distinct point of origin, tradition of migration, and genealogy. Thirdly, the chronology of the different traditions remains remarkably consistent in each area. Some ambitious attempts to provide detailed chronologies for African peoples have been justly condemned; but if due care is taken to allow for the probable historical accuracy of each piece of information and especially the probable accuracy of the genealogies preserved, and if the generational dating system detailed in Appendix IV is used with the caution required, then there is in each Shona area and in the Plateau as a whole a rough correlation between the traditions themselves and even between the traditions and the evidence offered by the Portuguese documents. Finally, Shona traditions which can be compared with contemporary documents can be shown to reflect many of the events of the early twentieth, the later and early nineteenth and even the eighteenth centuries, with degrees of accuracy that more or less relate to the time depth involved, as far back as the late seventeenth century. Some of the northern Shona traditions do go farther back than that, but at that depth they have diverged so far from the picture given by the documents that the most that they can do is to suggest the bare existence of dynasties, but even this is much better than having nothing to go on at all. This overall statement of optimism will be defended in a separate article, but a start can be made by examining the relevance of this account of the theory of the Shona traditions to the specific traditions of the northern and central Shona areas and the archaeology and documents of the period before about 1650.[18]

ii. The expansion of the Karanga in the 'Guruuswa' period

By the time the Portuguese arrived on the coastline of the Shona country in the early sixteenth century, the entire north and east of the Plateau and a good deal of the nearby lowlands were dominated by dynasties known as 'Karanga'. The most important of their lands was called 'Mukaranga' and formed the heart of a state ruled by the Mutapa dynasty, but other Karanga dynasties ruled over such lands as Barwe, Manyika, Teve, and Tonge far to the

south-east near the bay of Inhambane.[19] These eastern Shona territories will be dealt with in a later chapter, but here the most important single fact is Alcáçova's identification of the Mutapa dynasty as the rulers of Mukaranga in the late fifteenth century, for this forms a historical peg upon which the entire history of the Mutapa and a great number of other dynasties claiming to have come from 'Guruuswa' can be hung. But at this point it is necessary to sound a note of warning: in the past, some very elaborate structures have been hung upon this peg, and a lot of the rest of this chapter will be devoted to showing that much of the early history of the northern and central Shona and even that of the Mutapa state must be regarded as tentative.

The most influential version of Karanga history that has been put forward so far uses and often reinterprets the work of D.P. Abraham, who in 1959-60 published variations of an account of Mutapa history centred on the traditions of the people of the lands of Dande and western Chidima in the lower Zambezi valley. The more or less finalized versions runs as follows: the last ruler at Zimbabwe was named Nyatsimba Mutota, who, for reasons symbolized by a search for salt deposits in the Zambezi valley to the north, moved the entire centre of his state north to the lowlands of the Dande in the mid-fifteenth century and there founded or re-founded the Mutapa 'empire'. Abraham's original articles also suggested that most of the northern Shona dynasties dated from this migration. After Mutota the 'empire' is supposed to have been expanded as far as the coast by his son Matope Nebedza, but in the following reigns at the end of the century the centre, south, and south-west of the Plateau are seen as having become independent under the Torwa and Changamire dynasties, with the eastern Shona following suit soon afterwards.[20] All of these statements will be shown to be incorrect or unproven, but those concerning the relations between the Mutapa dynasty and the Shona of the east, south, and south-west will be dealt with in later chapters, and here we will examine those relating only to the northern Shona.

Firstly, there is some doubt as to whether anyone named 'Mutota' existed, since he did not appear in any account as a state-founder before the 1860s: in the eighteenth century the traditions of the Mutapa dynasty did not mention him at all, but put two other rulers, 'Nemapangere' and 'Nemangoro' in his stead. Moreover, the traditions about Mutota are so heavily decorated with myths that it is difficult to say more about him than to say that

to the northern Shona he represented a one-man symbol of the foundation of the Mutapa state. Much the same can be said about Matope Nebedza. This is not to say that such figures in tradition can have no basis in reality, for indeed, it will be argued later that the Chikura-Dombo figure in the traditions of the Changamire was very close to the reality of the conqueror whose wars were recorded in contemporary documents; but in the cases of the Mutota and Matope figures, the survival of traditions of a state-foundation over four centuries ago does not prove much about the actual personalities involved. A further point is that, while Mutapa traditions supply a long and fairly consistent list of rulers connecting Matope Nebedza with the reasonably well-attested Mukombwe figure of the late seventeenth century, there are no reliable tie-ins between these names and those supplied by the Portuguese documents any earlier than Mutapa Mavura, 1629-52. Working backwards from his death by generational dating, and using all of the names supplied by the traditions, one arrives at a death date of *1467 ± 40 for the Mutota figure or *1440 ± 44 for 'Nemapangere'. In short, as far as chronology is concerned, the traditions do not tell us anything more than the fact that the Mutapa state was already well established by the second half of the fifteenth century, which we knew in any case from the Alcáçova document; on the other hand, that document does show that the traditions are not so widely divorced from the truth where the bare existence of a dynasty is concerned, since they are capable of matching the documents on rulers' names as far back as the mid-seventeenth century and on the existence of the dynasty back to the fifteenth century.[21]

The second major criticism of the previously accepted version of northern Shona history to be made here concerns the link of the Mutapa dynasty with Zimbabwe. The traditions of the Mutapa dynasty do not normally link the Mutota figure with Zimbabwe — nor did Abraham's original account do so — but rather with 'Guruuswa', 'Gunuuswa', or 'Gunuvutwa'. This simply means 'long grass', but the dynasties that claim to have come from such a place locate very different areas as their point of origin. In the lands between the lower Ruya and Mazoe rivers, 'Guruuswa' is said to lie in the west; in the upper Ruya valley, the upper Dande valley, the Dande, and western Chidima it is thought of as being in the south; and the people of the Mafungabusi plateau and the Umfuli-Umniati confluence area place it in the east. All of these communities are in areas that are relatively lower and more heavily wooded than the areas indicated as 'Guruuswa' — the Mutapa state was noticeably well wooded in the sixteenth century — and it is probable that 'Guruuswa' is simply an environmental term used by groups that have moved from the higher and more open central parts of the Plateau into the more heavily wooded river valleys towards its edge. The Mutapa traditions by themselves, therefore, do not show that there was a direct link between the Zimbabwe and Mutapa states, and certainly not that the last ruler of Zimbabwe was the first Mutapa. Links of a kind exist, but they are basically archaeological and will be discussed below.[22]

But in any case, the Mutapa dynasty is only one of those which claim their point of origin in 'Guruuswa' and its traditions can only be understood in terms of the structure of the traditions of all of them. Dynasties with well established traditions of having come from 'Guruuswa' are now located in a wide arc from the Mafungabusi plateau in the west to the lower Ruya and Mazoe valleys in the north-east, an area that is almost, but not quite, equivalent to the modern Korekore-speaking area. In this area, as pointed out earlier in connection with Shona traditions in general, the chronology of the traditions is remarkably consistent, as far as the relationship between different dynasties is concerned. In other words, in most northern areas the dynasties that are generally recognized to have been the longest established are those that have a 'Guruuswa' point of origin, and those claiming other points of origin are mutually recognized to have arrived in the area at some later time. (This relationship, incidentally, does not appear to have been affected by more recent politics: very often the group that claims a 'Guruuswa' origin has been eclipsed by more recent arrivals over the last century.[23]) This suggests that the 'Guruuswa' point of origin is not simply a random feature of the traditions, but represents a real aspect of the past of these groups. Since these groups do not usually claim any common links, it seems most likely that their tradition of having come from 'Guruuswa' means more or less what it says, and that at some time in the fairly distant past they really did move to their present areas from 'Guruuswa', even if this was not any one region but rather a point farther up the river valleys nearer the centre of the Plateau.

There are, of course, some exceptions to this generalization. In the area of the Mutapa state the traditions of the 'Guruuswa' dynasties are linked to the names of the two Mutapas, the Mutota and Mukombwe figures, which apparently symbolize different

periods up to and including the seventeenth century. Again, whereas in most areas the predecessors of the 'Guruuswa' dynasties have disappeared so completely from society that only their names are recalled, often as mythical characters of the *mandionerepi* type, in two areas they survive to this day. On the Urungwe plateau a few Mbara descended from the Ingombe Ilede culture are still to be found, while in the old Mutapa state there are still Shona-speakers known as Tavara who claim to have preceded the local 'Guruuswa' groups. These Tavara sometimes borrow the 'Guruuswa' term themselves, but on the whole there is little doubt that they predate the Mutapa dynasty, which gives them a very long history indeed.

What follows in this section is a survey of the traditional evidence on the earliest known Shona groups in the north and centre of the Plateau, a survey corresponding to those given for the east and south in Chapters 5 and 6. It is upon this pattern of names of dynasties and territories that the history of the northern Shona will be seen to be founded: some of these names will be seen to vanish into oblivion, others will become famous and yet others will remain much as they were. This survey of the north and centre is divided into four subsections corresponding to four areas. The first deals with the area in which the Mutapa state was to emerge, in the triangle of land between the Zambezi and Mazoe rivers and the Umvukwe range. It will be shown that, as was pointed out in the Abraham version, the Mutapa state was on the frontier of the Shona with non-Shona peoples to the north and that there was a significant pre-'Guruuswa' group of Shona known as Tavara. It will also confirm Abraham's identification of the sixteenth-century Karanga with the 'Guruuswa' groups. On the other hand, it sees the arrival of the Karanga in the north as a gradual process, with at least three significant Karanga dynasties that predated the supremacy of the Mutapa.

The second subsection covers the western half of the arc in which the 'Guruuswa' traditions occur, a broad tract running west and south from the Umvukwe range across a number of rivers as far as the Mafungabusi plateau. The very thin evidence for this area would appear to show a gradual process of expansion from the centre of the Plateau by Karanga dynasties outside the control of the Mutapa, a process that in some cases can be dated as far back as the sixteenth century but which in other cases was apparently much more recent.

The third subsection covers the southern part of the centre of

the Plateau, the lands lying on either side of the upper Sabi valley. Here, it will be seen, the original dynasties were predominantly of the *shava* or eland totem. While they did not claim an origin in 'Guruuswa', neither did they make any serious claims to have come from anywhere else. Although their history cannot be shown to have extended any further back than the seventeenth century there are some grounds for believing that they are much older than that, reaching back to the expansion of the Zimbabwe culture into the area. This area is termed the central *shava* nuclear area.

The fourth and final subsection deals with the area lying between the third and the first two, essentially, that part of the watershed of the highest part of the Plateau lying due south of the Mazoe. In this region the early history has been much more difficult to reconstruct because very extensive resettlement in the eighteenth century has removed almost all trace of earlier groups; but it will be shown that, in the seventeenth century at least, they tended to be of the *moyo* or heart totem. Consequently this fourth area is termed the central *moyo* nuclear area. The history of these *moyo*, or 'Rozvi', as many were termed, begins and ends in the seventeenth century as far as we are concerned because of the lack of evidence; it is possible that this *moyo* cluster dated back to the 'Guruuswa' period, but it is just as likely that it was a product of the seventeenth-century disturbances caused by the Portuguese conquest of the Mutapa state.

Following this survey is an overview that seeks to link the traditional, documentary and archaeological evidence in the north and centre of the Plateau. Before the reader begins to follow the survey of the four areas outlined above, however, a brief explanation of totems is in order. The Shona, like many other peoples, have a system of totemism in which each man or woman inherits a *mutupo* totem name from the father; among the Shona; such names are nearly all based on animals or parts of the body, such as lion, eland, vervet-monkey, heart, or leg. Because no-one is permitted to marry someone of the same totem, the system serves as a safeguard against inbreeding in a small community, and it is significant that the term *kudya mutupo* referring to the forbidden eating of the totem animal also refers to incest. In some areas a person will add a *chidawo* or praise name to the *mutupo*, so that people of the *shava/mwendambiri* totem/praise name group will be distinguished from the *shava/mufakose*. In this book the totem acts essentially as a label to aid the identification of groups led by

a dynasty of that totem — it being understood that in any territory only some people will be of the ruler's totem. Though not all those of the same totem are necessarily related, there are enough linkages to make the system useful to students to Shona history.

The eastern 'Guruuswa' area: the Mutapa state. The Mutapa dynasty belonged to the Shona group of peoples, but it ruled non-Shona as well as Shona for most of its existence, and towards the end the non-Shona predominated. Alongside the Zambezi were the non-Shona Dima and Lower Zambezi Tonga. They came under Mutapa rule, but they were never completely assimilated and fought wars for their independence on a number of occasions. Below the Ruenya, for example, the Tonga under Samungazi fought a largely successful war of independence from *c.*1550 to 1572, and only gave in to the power of the Portuguese after 1575.[24] Within the Mutapa state itself, as late as the 1750s the Dima were in revolt against both the Mutapa and the Portuguese.[25] This does not mean that the Dima and Tonga were always on the verge of war with their Shona overlords; indeed, after a century of Portuguese rule the Tonga were inclined to look once more towards the Mutapa as their ruler.[26] It does suggest, however, that they kept a separate identity in the same way that they kept their separate language, and that when pressures forced them to rise against their rulers they did so as a complete group and not simply as followers of one faction or another within the Shona ruling group. Nevertheless, some of these non-Shona appear either to have had Shona rulers, under the overall control of the Mutapa state, or to have had ruling dynasties who later crossed the linguistic frontier and became Shona. A case in point is the Mangwende dynasty of Matandandura, near Chikova, which later moved south to the central Shona country.[27]

The traditions of the land settlements that preceded and accompanied the foundation of the Mutapa state are now so old that many of the details within them are used to prove different and sometimes contradictory points. Thus the story of the march from Guruuswa, the loss of X's powers through an unexpected sight of the Zambezi valley, or the retreat of Y into a pool or rock after defeat by treachery all appear in different guises. On the whole, however, it is fairly clear from the traditions which dynasties are descended from the earlier, pre-Mutapa layer of settlement, and which are members of the Mutapa dynasty or its associates. The first group can conveniently be called Tavara, and is characterized

by the *shava, nguruve* and *nhari* totems. Thus there was the *shava-mhumba* Matsiwu dynasty in the west of Chidima, along the Musengezi river, the *shava* dynasties of Gomo and Chigango and the *nguruve* dynasties of Gosva and Bushu,[28] all in the Zambezi valley north of the Mavuradonha mountains. The *nhari* totem was used by the Chizviti dynasty of Biriri and the important Karuva cult, which was apparently once a dynasty before it was conquered and lost its land of Choma to Chigango.[29] There was also an important *nhari* dynasty of Mukomohasha or Nyandoro in the land between the lower Ruya and Mazoe rivers.[30] At least one dynasty with the typical Tavara totem of *nguruve* made its home on the plateau south of the Ruya: the Matope dynasty of Chesa. It is not certain whether it was always there, or whether its traditional link with Gosva in the north means that it did come south from the valley.[31]

The tradition of the conquest of Choma by Chigango shows that even among the Tavara the pre-Mutapa period was not static, but we know nothing more about these groups other than their actual existence before the rise of the Mutapa. Indeed, since they seem to date back to the fifteenth century, it would be surprising if we did.

The arrival of the Karanga (the Mutapa dynasty and its contemporaries) around the fifteenth century has so far been treated by historians as if it was simply an act of policy by the rulers of the Mutapa dynasty. This *nzou-samanyanga* (elephant) dynasty was the ultimate ruler of the whole area, but it was originally only one of the several dynasties within what was to become the Mutapa state. For example, in the west, along the Angwa river, was the Nyamapfeka dynasty. This had a tradition of descent from Mutota, and was of the *nzou-samanyanga* totem, but the tradition makes Nyamapfeka a son of Mutota's daughter, and the very different genealogy and the story that he was born fully clothed and armed with a bow and that he stole his magic powers from his uncle in order to conquer his Angwa territory suggest that the connection with the Mutapa dynasty proper was very thin.[32] Indeed, the strange birth of Nyamapfeka reminds one of the traditions of the pre-Karanga inhabitants of the north that are found in Guruwe and Damba, and it may be that Nyamapfeka was actually a Tavara dynasty that survived the onset of Mutapa rule and borrowed some Mutapa titles and traditions.[33] It was this *nzou-samanyanga* dynasty, not the Mutapa dynasty, that conquered the Mbara of the Urungwe plateau.[34]

In Nyombwe, a land between the Ruya and the eastern end of the Mavuradonha range, another Karanga dynasty seems to have been independent of the Mutapa in the beginning. It is said to have originally had the *moyo-mhumba* totem before changing to the *nzou-samanyanga* totem, but either way the Nyombwe have always been recognized as quite distinct from the Mutapa dynasty.[35] It was apparently the Nyombwe leader Nyabapa Nyanhehwe and not the Mutapa ruler Matope Nyanhehwe who conquered Choma from Karuva and Chigango, if the Choma traditions are reliable.[36] Nyombwe was also the place of origin of the Nyajina *soko-nyadawa* dynasty in Uzumba, east of the Mazoe, where a group from Nyombwe appears to have ousted the old dynasty and, apparently, taken over its old totem.[37]

In the lands between the lower Ruya and Mazoe there was another Karanga group that was in the area before the Mutapa state arose, the *moyo-mhumba* group of Chimanda. This 'Rozvi' group ruled Chibonga, a small range of hills in the west. The fact that this dynasty, admitted by all to have been there from a very early date, was called 'Rozvi',[38] and the fact that the *nhari* Nyandoro dynasty a little further east joined the Rozvi in the eighteenth century[39] suggest that the Changamire who lived within the Mutapa state in the late fifteenth century may have been based in this area, but this point will be discussed more fully in a later chapter.

The existence of these pre-Mutapa dynasties of Karanga helps to suggest that the Mutapa state was the result of a gradual movement of dynasties off the northern edge of the Plateau up to the fifteenth century. The Portuguese documents from 1506 onwards make it clear that by that date the Mutapa dynasty had nevertheless become the senior within the area. Mutapa traditions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries give most of the credit for this to Matope Nyanhehwe, who is supposed to have conquered all the land as far as the Ruenya.[40] Since at least one of his feats, the conquest of Choma, was apparently carried out by the Nyombwe, it may be doubted whether he was quite so influential, and whether he was a real person and not simply a symbol of the Mutapa conquest itself. But there is no doubt about the overall effectiveness of the conquest over a long period of time; the Tavara, the Nyombwe, and the 'Rozvi' of Chimanda all acknowledged the Mutapa or were defeated by him and his associates.

The rise of the Mutapa state saw a great deal of land taken by the ruling dynasty, and some of this was allocated to its supporters. As we will see, the heart of the state was in the upper

Ruya valley, but the Zambezi lowlands of Bedza and other areas in Chidima and Dande were taken by the main *nzou-samanyanga* dynasty.[41] There were three sections of the Plateau segment of the state that eventually went to *tembo / mazvimbakupa* dynasties, namely Kandeya, Bushu, and Mushowani. The *tembo* totem is now taken to mean 'zebra', and the most famous of the *tembo* dynasties was probably the Chikanga-Mutasa dynasty of Manyika, before it changed its totem to *shumba*.[42] It is therefore not surprising that these dynasties are associated with Manyika in some traditions. In the case of the Bushu dynasty there is enough detail in the tradition for this to be true,[43] but it should be remembered that *tembo* also means 'elephant' north of the Mutapa state, and that *tembo* was an early totem of the Mutapa according to some informants.[44] It is therefore possible that the Kandeya and Mushowani dynasties are really branches of the Mutapa dynasty, excluded from the succession and taking the variant totem as protection and camouflage. Certainly the Kandeya line has claimed to predate the Nyombwe in the middle Ruya area; this, if true, would date it well before the rise of the Mutapa state, and well before the foundation of Manyika's *tembo* line. Again, Fynn in 1904 claimed that the totem was *nzou* and the group had 'always' lived there. He also gave the Mushowani group the same kind of origins as he noted for some close associates of the Mutapa.[45]

In most of the land between the lower Ruya and Mazoe, the ruling dynasties claim to have been allocated their land by Mutota, whether they were of his line or an allied group. These dynasties — Gwangwava *shiri*, Rusambo *soko*, Katevera *mhara*, Makuni *shava*, Chipara *sabirinyika*, Chitange *moyo*, and Nyawusengwa *nzou-samanyanga* — share a traditional structure that interprets the settlement of the area in terms of a group of friends of Mutota's son, Nyanhehwe; but in fact there are many ambiguous points, and it is more probable that these dynasties settled towards the end of the seventeenth century. This can be inferred from the history of the Nyandoro dynasty which had the typically Tavara totem of *nhari* and which not only preceded these dynasties but which still constitutes the second largest totemic group in that area. The Nyandoro dynasty is said to have gone south across the Mazoe to Fungwe, and there is still a *nhari / nendoro* dynasty named Chitsungo in Fungwe which claims descent from a 'Mukomohasha'. 'Mukomohasha' was a prominent title in the hierarchy of the Mutapa state, and one document points out that the Mukomohasha was usually a 'Tonga', not a member of the ruling

dynasty of Karanga — in other words, in this context, a Tavara. Since this Mukomohasha dynasty was still powerful in the lower Ruya-Mazoe area in the 1630s, it follows that the cluster of dynasties which succeeded it must have done so after this. It also follows from this that, whereas the local traditions distinguish between the Mutota figure and the Mukombwe figure, the Mutota figure does not represent an historical person so much as the whole period before Mukombwe, who as said earlier can be dated fairly securely to the late seventeenth century.[46]

It can thus be seen that even within the area of the Mutapa state the expansion of the Karanga of the 'Guruuswa' period was certainly not like the mass migration under the Mutota figure's command that has been suggested in earlier works. This is even more true for the 'Guruuswa' groups who lived to the west of the Mutapa state, as far west as the Mafungabusi plateau.

The western 'Guruuswa' area. The dynasty of Nhova or Chingowo, originally *soko/vudzijena*, was founded by Chingowo, who led his people from Guruuswa through the upper Mazoe valley, called Gomba, to the land of Guruwe. Guruwe was the land south of the Dande river and west of the Umvukwe range, but it seems likely that Gomba south of the Tsatse river was also ruled by the Nhova in the early days because the later Nyachuru rulers were confirmed in their position by the *mhondoro* of Chingowo.[47] According to Mutapa-oriented sources, Mutota and Chingowo were blood relatives, and when they arrived in the north under Mutota's leadership Chingowo assumed the *soko* totem so that they could intermarry.[48] But neither the traditions of the *nzou-samanyanga* Chitsungo dynasty of the Mutapa lineage nor those of the dynasty descended from Chingowo agree with this. According to them, Mutota and Chingowo were never related, and parted company at the Umvukwe range. Chingowo then led his people into Guruwe, where after a while he killed the autochthonous Nyamazunzu by one of the standard tricks of Shona myth, and commemorated the event by changing his totem-praise name to *soko/wafawanaka*.[49] Bocarro noted that the Nhova of the early seventeenth century was the uncle of the Mutapa, and that Guruwe was a tributary of the Mutapa state, but since the Portuguese were interested in promoting the claims of the Mutapas this does not prove that the Nhova dynasty was in fact tributary. The only mention made in Nhova tradition of the Mutapa land was when Nhova Gweshe became insane and fled there, which ended his tenure of the title.[50]

West of the Hunyani on the plateau was the land of Damba, and here again it is possible to see the gradual nature of Karanga expansion. The first Karanga settlers under Murisa were resisted by Nyamakwere, who is depicted in tradition as the usual four-eyed type with special powers, and who may have been a member of the Musengezi culture. A new group of Karanga coming from Guruuswa under Chambavanhu, founder of the Bepura *hwere/chevaviri-chamburi* dynasty, defeated Nyamakwere and became the rulers. It is not clear when this occurred, simply that it took place during the general Karanga expansion.[51]

West of the Great Dike the Karanga founded a number of dynasties in the lands crossed by the Hunyani and Umfuli rivers. Traditionally, the four most important were established at about the same time, and a myth of a migration from Guruuswa from which various rulers dropped out is told to explain this.[52] The Mutota *mhondoro* medium claimed that these people were led by Mutota, and that the Zvimba *ngonya* dynasty was originally descended from Mutota himself.[53] Another account claimed that Chingowo's *soko* group led the people,[54] but the only concessions made by any of these Karanga themselves to outside assistance in the establishment of their lands were to the Tumbare associate of the Torwa state to the south.[55] In view of the wars between the Mutapa and Torwa states in the first half of the sixteenth century, it seems likely that these lands, caught in the middle, were dominated by the one or the other, or remained independent, according to the fortunes of war. The land between the Angwa and Umfuli rivers, west of the Mcheka-wa-ka-Sungabeta mountains and east of the Tengwe river had originally been held by Mbara under Nesima, and was occupied from at least the sixteenth century by the *moyo* people of Nyamuswa or Nemakonde. An important associated figure was Goronga, a *dziva* leader. Both later became important *mhondoro*. An early offshoot of this dynasty was that of Buru, a *nhari*-totem friend of Nyamuswa's dynasty, who received Mbowe, the land between the Hunyani and Angwa rivers at the south of the Hunyani range. Later, in the eighteenth century, the northern parts of the Nyamuswa dynasty's land were allocated to subordinate dynasties.[56]

Between the Hunyani and the Umvukwe range was the land of Chipata. This was originally ruled by Swinura or Tsoromburaro's Dzugwe, and tradition states that Tumbare of the Torwa state

drove them out and installed the Zvimba *ngonya* dynasty. This must have occurred before *c.*1631-49, at which time Bocarro claimed the land was one of the outlying dependencies of the Mutapa state. The Zvimba dynasty also held a triangle of land west of the Hunyáni, which left a rather constricted space for Chirau's land of Chikore or Bvuti. Indeed, Bocarro did not rate Chirau's title as equivalent to that of an ordinary Karanga ruler. Chirau's dynasty was *moyo*, but no blood relationship with the *moyo* Rozvi was known.[57] South of the Hunyani lay Chisvipi. This land was occupied by the Gwenzi-Chivero *shava/mwendamberi* dynasty which dated back to at least the early seventeenth century, and apparently fell well outside the area of Mutapa dominance. It was apparently an important dynasty, but nothing is known of its development before 1650, apart from the original settlement.[58]

Whereas the Nhova, Bepura, Zvimba, Nemakonde, Chirau, and Gwenzi dynasties were probably established relatively early in the Karanga expansion, others were noticeably later, and still others may have occupied the Mafungabusi and Urungwe plateau as late as the seventeenth century. One later group, Neuso's *shava* family, came out of Guruuswa — in this case, the Buhera region — and travelled through Nemakonde's area before receiving the land of Chwaya from Nemakonde. This was a less hospitable region that compelled the people to live in river valleys, but they claimed a wide tract of woodlands between the Umniati and Umfuli, and held this until about 1600.[59] Across the Umniati on the Mafungabusi plateau conditions were similar, with the same riverine economy. This area was called Shangwe, and this name has been applied in turn to the major groups living there. Thus, the original Shangwe on the plateau were under the Karanga rulers Vumpa, Nyamasasa, Mufungu, and Mupare, with other people such as the Renge under Mfunga. Closer to the Zambezi a group of Gova moved west to the Sanyati-Zambezi confluence, and mixed with the Tonga there. On the Mafungabusi plateau itself the original Karanga Shangwe remained until the eighteenth century, when they were overcome by a succession of groups that began to move up from the Changamire state. These later groups were part of a process of settlement around the edges of the sand country to the west that culminated in the foundation of two 'Rozvi' centres, one on the Mafungabusi plateau under Chireya and one other on the Deka river near the Zambezi under Wange in the eighteenth century. The dialect of the people of Shangwe remained Korekore, however, and the original Kalanga dialect of the Rozvi of Chireya

was absorbed by the Korekore of the basic population. The mythology of Shangwe, too, belongs to that of the original Karanga settlement.[60] South of the Zambezi on the Urungwe plateau the Mbara had lived on the Urungwe plateau in large villages under such rulers as Chidzere, Nomongo Muriga, Kapori II, Chiawa, Muyore, Nechirundu, Marindi, Nechidzurwi, Nendorosha, Tsikita, and Negukura. Most of these were conquered by the Karanga in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but they appear to have intermarried with some of them. The Sikurumo or Simurongwe and Kapori I, so-called hunters who co-existed with or preceded the Mbara, were possibly survivors of the Early Iron Age Sinoia culture, and if so these were the only Early Iron Age peoples who can be named. The Mbara apparently had links southwards with the people of the Mafungabusi plateau, for they are said to have regarded Chireya as their paramount, but Chireya only came to rule Shangwe long after the Mbara had fallen under Karanga rule.

The Mbara of the Urungwe plateau are stated in traditions to have become tributary to a *nzou-samanyanga* dynasty. This situation must have come about after 1512, since they were apparently independent at that stage. The particular branch of the *nzou-samanyanga* clan, to which they paid tribute and which played a great part in the Karanga conquest of the Urungwe plateau was the Nyamapfeka dynasty which has been mentioned earlier as being centred on the Angwa river in the Zambezi valley. It apparently did not become effective in Urungwe until the seventeenth century. Modern traditions claim that Nyamapfeka was not interested in ruling directly but allocated lands and titles in the Zambezi valley to various other Karanga groups that came from Guruuswa. This does not seem likely, for several reasons. A likely hypothesis is that Nyamapfeka's dynasty was actually the first to establish an outpost on the Urungwe plateau, taking the best lands in the centre from the Mbara. Faced with such threats as the Soli conquest of part of the Mbara lands in the valley, the Nyamapfeka dynasty encouraged other Karanga to take the valley lands, but then fell victim itself to the *soko* descendants of Zingari. These *soko* people came from the *soko* land of Guruwe, and were related by marriage to Nyamapfeka's line. They took the centre of the plateau and established first the Kazangarare and then the Dendera dynasties, taking the previous rulers' totem of *nzou-samanyanga*. The true *nzou-samanyanga* line, however, retained a great deal of ritual importance, leaving many *mhondoro* spirits and having a say in the installation of rulers. This process would have been

complete by the mid-eighteenth century, since the founder of the Dendera dynasty, Datsukameso, had a sister who married a *tembo* man from Chihota's dynasty which was established in the middle of that century. Given this hypothesis, the expansion of the Karanga in this area becomes comparatively simple to describe. A group of matrilineal Soli under Chimombe moved south over the Zambezi and established themselves in the valley. Nyamapfeka's Karanga assassinated Chimombe, but were not able to overcome the Soli, who remained there. Shortly after this a separate group of Karanga, apparently acting independently of the Nyamapfeka dynasty, founded the Dandawa dynasty in typical Karanga style: an early settlement reported the existence of salt in the valley, and a major movement followed. This was before the end of the seventeenth century, for at least four other Karanga dynasties postdating Dandawa had become established in the area by then.[61]

The central shava nuclear area. This completes the survey of the 'Guruuswa' area of the northern Plateau. We now turn, very briefly, to the area dominated by *shava*-totem dynasties in the south of the centre of the Plateau — in effect, the land between the main watershed in the west, the Odzi river in the east, the upper Sabi valley in the north, and the Devure river in the south. The *shava* totem was certainly not exclusive to this area — we have already noticed such *shava*-totem dynasties as Matsiwu's, Gomo's, and Chigango's Tavara and the Makuni dynasty, which had no known connection with this zone. For that matter, the Gwenzi-Chivero dynasty also had no known connection with this area, although the informants of a Portuguese writer in the 1850s did claim, apparently on the basis of the similar totems, that the Gwenzi dynasty was 'Hera', one of the two main *shava* dynasties to be examined now.[62] Nor were all the dynasties in this *shava* area of the *shava* totem. But the dominant dynasties — Mbiru-Nyashanu of Buhera and Marange of Bocha — were, and it is also true that a great number of *shava* dynasties of more modern times, such as Neuso's people in Chwaya, have come from this general area, and thus it will be referred to as the central *shava* nuclear area.

Old Buhera used to consist of all the land from the Sabi-Odzi and Sabi-Devure confluences as far up as the Umniati on the other side of the main watershed of the plateau, and the Hera still speak of it in this way, ignoring the independent Njanja and others who have in fact divided the Hera territory in two by their settlement and expansion. Indeed, most of these immigrant groups

freely admit the original supremacy of the Hera in terms of ownership of the land. The land as far as the Devure was claimed, and a good deal of the north bank of the Sabi was occupied by Hera. Old Buhera, then, corresponded to the bulk of the central *shava* area already described.[63]

Hera traditions claim that the predecessors of the Hera were the little people, *mandionerepi, maguu,* figures straight out of Shona myth and not identifiable with any particular group at all.[64] The only archaeological evidence so far consists of a number of stone structures of the Zimbabwe-Khami culture, one of which is a loopholed wall on Gombe mountain, similar to loopholed forts thought to date from the seventeenth century in the Mutapa state area, and is one of the few stone buildings on the plateau to be definitely linked with a Shona ruler or dynasty, that of Mbiru.[65]

Mbiru is seen in Hera tradition as the founding ancestor of the Hera *shava/museyamwa* people, and of many other *shava* groups as well.[66] In some traditions he is said to have come *kwa mhiri kwe gungwa,* over a great water,[67] and in others a spurious Zulu origin is offered for him,[68] but the majority of accounts, including the earliest, simply locate Mbiru in Buhera from the beginning.[69] Mbiru is variously seen as a hunter, someone who did not know fire, someone so completely alone that he had to marry a Bushman woman, and so on.[70] 'Mberu frequently moved his place of abode, his headquarters, however, were at the Gombe hill, otherwise known as the Mai yeBahera or Mother of the Bahera. . . .'[71] He is said to have quarrelled with his sons because they wanted his wives, and to have retired into a cave on Gombe, never to reappear.[72]

Mbiru in Shona means a pole used as an upright support in a platform, and conveys much the same impression as the Hera praise name *museyamwa,* a crutch or support. *Mbiru* is in fact a very good figurative term for the position of Mbiru as an ancestral figure in Hera genealogies, for the whole kinship structure of Buhera 'leans' upon him. Mbiru appears to have been a whole dynasty rather than a single ruler. One reason for believing this is that so many houses claim descent from Mbiru that it is difficult to see them all as being descended from one man. Another is that there has been telescoping of the Hera traditions, so that whereas today the ruler Mutekwatekwa Dukuta is seen as the son of Mbiru, in 1904 two rulers with supporting traditions were interposed between them, which suggests that there were several Mbiru rulers.[73] Yet another reason for believing this is that the story of

Mbiru retiring into a cave is reminiscent of other changes of dynasty in Shona history.[74] The dynastic title that replaced Mbiru was Nyashanu, and various traditions ascribe this change to Dirikwi or Matema, each of whom is said to have manipulated the Rozvi into supporting him against either his father's brother or his own elder brother.[75] The oldest version of this story, however, refers to Mbiru's successor, Rukoto, who sent his son to the Rozvi capital only to have this son, Marazha by name, return and oust him from the leadership of the dynasty.[76] Under the circumstances the most that we can state is that Mbiru was in fact a complete dynasty extending into the past for an unknown period, and that the probable date at which the title changed from Mbiru to Nyashanu was at the beginning of the eighteenth century with the reign of Marazha.

Bocha formed a compact triangle of land between the Odzi and Sabi rivers, cut off by the Mtanda range from the north. The land was called Bocha, so were the people, and the ruling dynasty was called Marange, and on balance it seems that it has always been thus, although during the long reigns of Gandidzanwa and Nyachitu in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the Marange title was so closely linked with their dominant personalities that some claimed that they invented the name.[77] The totem of the Marange dynasty was *shava* or *nhuka* (eland) and its praise name was *mukonde* (euphorbia); again, there has been no suggestion that it was ever different. There are two theories current that claim that the dynasty came from outside Bocha, but neither is convincing. One refers to 'Hera affiliations' in vague terms,[78] but although there are a number of names found in Bocha that also occur in Buhera, the main traditions of the Bocha and Hera do not suggest any link.[79] Indeed, the two *shava* dynasties intermarry. On the face of it, therefore, it seems that the Marange dynasty has been established so long in Bocha that for all practical purposes it can be regarded as having originated there. This is certainly the impression given by the few surviving traditions of the Marange founding ancestor, Mutekwatekwa, whose death was probably in the first half of the eighteenth century.[80]

Under these two main *shava* dynasties were a number of others that were apparently subordinate, such as Nechipindirwe *nzou* and Neshava *ngara*, and which appear to have been under the Marange and Mbiru dynasties for as long as traditions can recall, while areas such as West Buhera seem to have been under Hera

control long before a separate branch of the Mbiru dynasty became established there. (But the genealogies of such groups do not extend as far back as those of their local superiors, for the good reason that subordinate groups lying close to their superiors do not have the same need to preserve long genealogies. Consequently, only the genealogies of *independent* dynasties can be used to establish a rough chronology.)

The central moyo nuclear area. Finally, we come to the central Plateau area that lies east and south of the 'Guruuswa' area, north of the central *shava* nuclear area and west of the Nyadiri river. Here, no surviving dynasty appears to have been as long-established as the central *shava* group, and no such dynasty appears to belong to the 'Guruuswa' group. Instead, very nearly all of the surviving dynasties appear to be the results of relatively recent immigrations, most of them occurring in the eighteenth century — an estimate that can be supported to some extent by cross-referencing between traditions and even documents. Consequently, we only know the earlier rulers through the traditions of the dynasties that replaced them, and this knowledge amounts to little more than their names and totems. Moreover, although we have a rough idea of the dates at which these earlier dynasties were conquered we do not know how long they had ruled before this. It seems reasonable to suppose that they had been in existence for at least a short period — half a century or so, which would locate most of them in the late seventeenth century — but we have no grounds for pushing their history any farther back. On the other hand, nor can we dismiss the possibility that this group was much older: only detailed archaeology may be able to settle the question. These earlier dynasties, although of various totems, were frequently referred to as 'Rozvi' by their conquerors, and a fair proportion of these were of the *moyo* totem. In addition, in the seventeenth century two major migrations of *moyo* dynasties took place, which appear to have begun in this region: the Changamire and south-eastern highland *moyo* groups, whose history will be discussed in later parts of this book. Although it will be argued that the Changamire dynasty at least did not originate in this area, but only rose to power in it during the seventeenth century, and although the name of 'Rozvi' appears to date only from that period, there seems to be sufficient justification for referring to this area as the central *moyo* nuclear area on the same grounds that the area just to the south was allocated to the *shava*; on the other

hand it must be remembered that whereas some at least of the 'Guruuswa' groups to the north and west can be definitely dated as far back as the fifteenth century, and there are some grounds for suspecting that the central *shava* dynasties may be nearly as old, the central *moyo* dynasties appear on the evidence to be much more recent. (Indeed, they may not predate the Mutapa civil wars of the mid-seventeenth century, for it seems probable that the confusion of the times extended to this area: it was in approximately this region that a Muslim *xarife* was granted a gold-bearing territory named 'Entombue', perhaps on the south bank of the Mazoe, in the early 1630s by the Mutapa, yet neither the title nor the territory seem to have endured.[81])

The southernmost Rozvi community was that of Gunguwo. A recent account suggests that it was near Wedza,[82] but most accounts claim that it was overcome by Chihota's *tembo* (zebra) Manyika led by Chihota Chibasvi, who died in *1760 ± 36,[83] which would put Gunguwo's land north of the upper Umfuli. Mpakwe, the land west of the upper Nyagui river, was ruled by the *moyo* dynasty of Rusike, which appears to have been in that spot for as long as traditions recall.[84] Between the Nyagui and the Umwindsi was the land of the Gora *gwai* (sheep) people, who were supplanted at an early date by Benhura, the founder of the *nzou* or *mbano* Chikwaka dynasty. The *gwai* people appear to have moved to the Umfuli valley, where some of the Gora and Devera dynasties joined the Karanga expanding to Urungwe.[85] A little further west was the land of the *soko* Rozvi, who were led by Ditoti the son of Murehwa at the time when they were conquered by the Shawasha under Chinamhora Derere, who died in *1744 ± 40.[86] In Satwa in the Mazoe-Nyagui angle the original inhabitants were Rozvi under Tambi, but they were conquered by Musana's *gumbo* (leg) people coming south in a later phase of Karanga expansion. This has to have occurred well before the late seventeenth century, for by that time the Musana dynasty had already grown to the point where it could give rise to its own movements, and by 1696 Mudzimu's *gumbo* were already established on the Zambezi-Sanyati confluence, having joined the westward expansion that forms part of the expansion of the Karanga.[87]

Another *moyo* dynasty was that of Nyamweda on the Jeta hills, which moved to the Hunyani valley either in the sixteenth century or in the eighteenth.[88] West of the Nyadiri, there were more *moyo* dynasties, supplanted by the *moyo/muzukuru* Mangwende dynasty in the first half of eighteenth century.[89] One of these was the Nyamunga *moyo* group ruling Chitopi,[90] and the other was a Rozvi group, under Tondova.[91] Although they had the *moyo* totem, the people of Mangwende cannot be definitely included as members of the original *moyo* nuclear area, for although they lived at the end of the seventeenth century in Matukutu in the Pote valley they were originally from Chidima in the Mutapa state.[92] Another group in the central *moyo* nuclear area included the Samuriwo *moyo/wakapiwa* dynasty in Uzumba.[93]

To complete the record, it is worth mentioning a few *shava* dynasties lying more or less between the 'Guruuswa' group and the central *shava* nuclear area which cannot be definitely assigned to either. There were NeHarava's people on the upper Hunyani who were overcome by the Seke dynasty in the early eighteenth century, Nyavira's and Zumba's to the north-west;[94] there was Nherera's *shava* line in the land of Tsunga west of the Upper Umniati;[95] there was Mushava's group in the Mwanezi range nearby;[96] and there was the Rwizi dynasty on the upper Umfuli.[97] Of NeHarava's and Zumba's lines we know nothing, because they were dispersed, and the same applies to that of Nyavira. Nherera's dynasty today claims — almost certainly, incorrectly — a 'Sotho' origin and Mushava's claimed to come from an as yet unidentified place called 'Dzivarasekwa'. Only Rwizi's group claimed a 'Guruuswa' origin, and whereas this may have been a minor branch of the whole 'Guruuswa' group, the other five could have come from anywhere; nor can any of them be dated very far back by generational dating or tie-ins with other dynasties.

This account completes the summary of the basic evidence for the settlement of the Karanga in the north and centre of the Plateau, but before this evidence is summed up in the next section of this chapter it is worth making a few comments, not so much about the nature of the evidence as about the kind of picture that has been presented. The reader has, in the last few pages, been confronted with a list of nearly sixty dynasties, not counting the Mbara and other non-Shona or the later dynasties that came in to dispossess some of the sixty, in an area where in most earlier works only the Mutapa dynasty has been discussed. The reader may well feel confused by this barrage of names. But this is not justifiable. Shona history is built up of the individual histories of hundreds of such dynasties, and any attempt to make sense of Shona history as a whole must take these into account. In a sense, the Mutapa dynasty is important in Shona history not because the Portuguese thought it was, but because it was able to dominate at

least twenty-five of these smaller dynasties. On the other hand, the fact that the remaining thirty-five dynasties cannot be proven to have come under the Mutapa's rule tends to put the Mutapa state into perspective. Again, the reader may tend to look at the sixty-odd dynasties and the frequent references to movements and migrations from such places as 'Guruuswa' and conclude that Shona political units were completely unstable. But this would also be untrue: if not all of them can be shown to date as far back as the Mutapa dynasty or its Tavara predecessors, a fair number, such as Zvimba, Chirau, or Nhova-Chingowo, can be shown to have been in existence since at least the early seventeenth century, and many others by the end of the century, in roughly the same territories they held up to the beginning of the twentieth century. Movements and migrations did take place in Shona history, but they were not the normal state of affairs.

iii. The Karanga expansion: An overview

Earlier in this chapter it was pointed out that the available evidence on the Mutota figure of Mutapa traditions does not prove that he came from Zimbabwe, either as a ruler or as a lesser figure, or for that matter that he was an historical personality at all. It has also been pointed out that the obvious successor to the Zimbabwe state was the Torwa state based on Khami, and this will be elaborated upon in a later chapter, but it is worth mentioning here that the archaeological evidence does not follow the suggestion of some earlier works that the Khami culture arose out of the Mutapa state, which in turn had been the immediate successor of the Zimbabwe state: the progression from both the building and pottery styles of the Zimbabwe culture to those of Khami was a direct one without any detour through the north of the Plateau.[98] Yet in spite of all this, the Mutapa state did derive from the Zimbabwe state, but in a much more generalized and less dramatic fasion, and the evidence for this comes largely from archaeology.

During the heyday of the Zimbabwe state, as we have seen, copies of Zimbabwe itself were built on a small scale over a great deal of the Plateau from about 1300 onwards. North of the Devure river there were at least a score of these, and at least some of them were built in the areas which had been settled earlier by the Shona-speakers of the Musengezi and Harare cultures; the others will almost certainly be found to lie in the areas of similar cultures which have not yet been identified. The buildings, which range

from about 1300 to about 1500 in time, were built in isolation and in clusters, and very much on the lines of the smaller buildings at Zimbabwe itself: that is, they consisted of the same type of elaborate *daga* huts partly screened by stone walls that showed both the earlier and, more usually, the later stonework styles of Zimbabwe. The people who lived within them were obviously members of the Zimbabwe ruling group, for their pots were of the same type, drinking and liquid-storage vessels that owed nothing to the styles of the earlier Harare or Musengezi groups whom their owners settled. Some of the architectural features to be found at Zimbabwe were added to these buildings, but on the whole they belonged to groups that were not nearly as wealthy as the rulers at Zimbabwe, though wealthy enough to finance the buildings themselves.[99]

The most recent general works on these northern extensions of the Zimbabwe culture have advanced some far-reaching interpretations of them from archaeological evidence alone. It has been argued that, though the builders of the outlying *zimbabwe* were clearly dominant in each area in as much as they were able to command the labour to erect their walls at all, they were so few in number and so much at the mercy of the surrounding population in terms of numbers even though they relied upon them for food itself that they must have maintained themselves by special powers. And, although these powers have not been defined exactly, the term 'religion' has been put forward fairly often as a possible explanation. In other words, it has been suggested that, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a number of small but influential groups were able to spread out from Zimbabwe, bearing with them the Zimbabwe culture, and maintain themselves over an existing population by 'religious or ritual sanctions' symbolized by 'emblems of communal or religious authority' that were kept within their buildings.[100]

It is suggested here that this interpretation is not supported by the archaeological evidence, and is contradicted by both the documents and what is known of Shona society from about 1490 to the present. Firstly, the archaeological record for these outlying *zimbabwe* is incomplete: whereas research into the site territory of Zimbabwe itself has only been carried out recently, it is already clear that those who lived inside the stone screening walls at the state's capital were only a small minority of the total population of that culture. At the outlying *zimbabwe* in the north and centre of the Plateau, research has been concentrated within the stone walls even where it is clear that there were buildings outside the walls,

as at Nhunguza, and there has been no attempt to search the site territories of each site for unwalled settlements of the same culture that correspond to the unwalled settlement at Zimbabwe. Consequently it is not logical to attempt to estimate the total population of the Zimbabwe culture outside the capital on the basis of those members who lived within the stone walls of the different *zimbabwe*. Moreover, it must be remembered that it is very difficult to use archaeology to stress the possibly 'religious' aspect of any building or object when it might equally have been 'political' in significance, especially when, as was pointed out in the case of Zimbabwe itself, the Portuguese documents of roughly the same period stressed that the Shona did not 'worship' objects.[101]

For, secondly, it must not be forgotten that, although no Arabic or Portuguese document gives details of Zimbabwe itself when it was still a capital, the Portuguese documents do describe the *zimbabwe* of the north and east of the Plateau at a time when they were still having additions made to them in stone. As late as 1512 such construction was going on, and whereas the documents do not tell us whether the stonework was in the best Zimbabwe-culture style or not, these documents were written so soon after the dates for the stone buildings that it is difficult to believe that society had had time to change in any radical fashion. But the documents stress the size of the settlements and make it clear that, as at Zimbabwe, there were many huts of a more ordinary sort surrounding the stone-walled huts of the rulers; indeed, these settlements were called 'cities' and were distinct from the usual villages. What the documents do not suggest is that there were, either in the north or east of the Plateau, small groups of people maintaining themselves by any sort of ritual or mystical power. For the documents from Alcáçova onwards agree with Shona traditions that the yardstick of power in Shona society was the number of wives possessed by a ruler; and when one considers the number of sons, daughters, uncles, brothers and their families who tended to collect around any person of importance in Shona history, it can be seen that as far as the Shona were concerned a 'small, influential group' was a contradiction in terms.[102]

What most probably happened, then, was a simple expansion of the Zimbabwe culture in the form of dynasties more or less closely related to the rulers of Zimbabwe, and probably in considerable numbers with their herds alongside them. The theory of migration used earlier to explain the Early and Later Iron Age

expansions would have applied here too, and certainly in the conditions of the developing economy in the Plateau the migrant groups would have had a clear idea of where they were going. Judging from the example of the Inhambane region, where the very earliest evidence for a Zimbabwe-culture settlement has been dated to the early thirteenth century and where there was still a considerable Shona-speaking population calling itself 'Karanga' in the 1560s, such an expansion involved a straightforward conquest by a large number of immigrants, even though the latter were outnumbered by the earlier population. (It should be remembered, however, that any such immigration would affect the relationship between the people and their environment.[103]) And at this point it becomes possible to sum up: when it is remembered that the Zimbabwe culture was expanding to the north in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as is proved by the radiocarbon dates, and that the Mutapa dynasty can be dated by both documents and traditions to the fifteenth century, and that in addition the Mutapa dynasty was only one of a much greater number of 'Karanga' dynasties that claimed in their traditions to have come from 'Guruuswa', it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that the expansion of the Zimbabwe culture and the expansion of the Karanga amounted to one and the same thing.

Before going on to discuss the overall relationship of this to the Zimbabwe state, however, it is worthwhile remembering a few points. Firstly, the traditional evidence itself suggests that there was a gradual movement of dynasties rather than a single mass migration, for it shows how there were pre-Mutapa Karanga in the Mutapa state area who carried out their own local conquests before they were absorbed by the Mutapa dynasty's power, just as there were Karanga in such places as Damba before the Bepura dynasty arrived. Moreover, some areas such as the lower Ruya-Mazoe region or the Urungwe plateau were clearly taken by actual Karanga settlers as late as the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries. Secondly, it does not follow that every northern *zimbabwe* or group of *zimbabwe* was the capital of a dynasty whose name has come down to us today, nor that every Karanga dynasty must have had a *zimbabwe* with stone walls around its rulers' huts. On the one hand, the outlying *zimbabwe* were apparently not occupied for long, so that some of them which lie in areas where there have been no important dynasties in the last two centuries or so, such as the ones near the Ngezi river or at Nyachidzi or Black Adder in the Umfuli valley, might have been built by

rulers such as early Mutapa ancestors on their way north rather than the more recent Mushava, Devera, and Rwizi dynasties of those areas. On the other hand, not all dynasties ruled over granitic areas and not all granites are suitable for *zimbabwe*-building, nor is it certain that the most important rulers tried to conquer or rule areas that contained the right kinds of granite simply so that they could build *zimbabwe*. Nevertheless, in at least two areas it is possible to link *zimbabwe* with the dynasties that are known to have ruled there. In Buhera there were at least six *zimbabwe* built at various times, showing several architectural styles, and the most recent of these, the loopholed wall with monoliths on Gombe mountain, is firmly linked in tradition with the Mbiru dynasty, a linkage that is sufficiently rare in Shona traditions, because of frequent migrations and conquests, to be convincing.[104] And, in the Mutapa state area, there are several *zimbabwe* including Nhunguza, Yellow Jacket, Chisvingo, Ruanga, the Zvongombe complex, and a group in the Dande that must be more or less contemporaneous with the rise of the Mutapa state; it was here that stone building was observed in about 1511. It is therefore highly probable that some if not all of these were Mutapa capitals, though in a later chapter it will be suggested that no absolutely accurate link between traditions and ruins can be made.[105]

There are several possible reasons for the expansion of the Karanga into the north from Zimbabwe, and these involve both the Zimbabwe state and the northern Plateau. In the first place, there were the northern goldfields themselves. If these had not been exploited as early as those of the south-west, they were definitely being worked by the early sixteenth century.[106] Moreover, by that time there was gold being exported from the south-west through the Mutapa state, and it seems likely that the Mutapa not only checked or benefited from the trade through Ingombe Ilede but also took part in a more direct trade, in between wars.[107] But not all of the *zimbabwe* of the centre and north were supported by the gold industry: those of Buhera and the Tsindi hill just north of the main watershed were a long way from goldfields, and though, like Zimbabwe itself, they may have managed to intercept trade from elsewhere they were probably also backed by the wealth inherent in cattle. And this brings us to the second point: whereas the Zimbabwe state probably came to an end in the fifteenth century as a result of environmental pressures or of political stress connected with them, it does not follow that these stresses had not existed almost from the foundation of the state. For Zimbabwe

was a Shona state, and in Shona society wealth meant, sooner or later, the accumulation of herds of cattle. Since the site territory of Zimbabwe was restricted, the more cattle that were accumulated through trade or conquest the more stress would be thrown on the grazing lands; therefore, whether as a result of an act of policy by Zimbabwe's rulers or as the result of the threat of civil war, such herds would tend to move towards the grazing of the north — and since herds do not move of their own accord, they would bring dynasties with them, branches of the Zimbabwe culture.

Whether or not the expansion of the Zimbabwe culture to the north meant an expansion of the power of the Zimbabwe state is difficult to tell. It seems unlikely, comparing the Mutapa state with Zimbabwe, that the Zimbabwe-culture dynasties south of the Devure lay outside the Zimbabwe state proper. Judging by Buhera's relations with the Changamire state, Buhera probably paid tribute to Zimbabwe at least some of the time. But, given the distances involved, it is unlikely that the Mutapa state was ever tributary to Zimbabwe for more than a short period, if that. It is clear that the Mutapa state was not just a later phase of the Zimbabwe state itself, for not only do the traditions and Alcáçova's and other Portuguese documents make it clear that the Mutapa was independent from at least the 1480s onwards, but Ahmad ibn-Madjid, drawing upon his experiences prior to 1498, also made it clear that there were still two states in the south of the Plateau behind Sofala, almost certainly Zimbabwe and the Torwa state at Khami.[108] Moreover, the pottery that can be identified from the Mutapa state suggests a divergence of style from that of Zimbabwe at some point before that cultural tradition shifted to Khami.[109] In terms of state formation, therefore, the Mutapa state represents a branch from the main line of development in the south and south-west of the Plateau; in terms of dynastic history it represents only a part of the basic foundation of the political structure of the northern Shona, namely the expansion of the Karanga.

CHAPTER 3

Shona Society in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

i. The sources

The last two chapters have taken the story up to about 1650, at least in the north and centre of the Plateau, but the account has been limited in two ways: on the one hand, archaeology is almost all that we have to go on before about 1450, whilst on the other hand the traditions concerning the north and centre from about 1450 to about 1650 have their limitations. The archaeology gives us a good idea of the economy of the Plateau even if it gives no genuine names to attach to the people of each site; the traditions, because they were so closely linked to questions of land and inheritance, give us a great number of names of people and places but very little else. In the last chapter, and most of the chapters to follow, much of the subject matter consists of Shona political history because the dynastic traditions and most of the documents are concerned with nothing else, but this history will be much easier to understand if we know something about Shona society and what it was like to live in sixteenth-century Guruwe or seventeenth-century Buhera. To a certain extent it is possible to look at nineteenth-century Shona society as it was observed by Europeans or remembered by the modern Shona and project this picture backwards, but to do this is to risk falling into one of the most deadly traps laid for historians, for few societies remain unchanged over such a long period, and the Shona are no exception.

Fortunately, for nearly two centuries the northern and central Shona were under the direct observation of Portuguese traders and priests and officials who either committed their impressions to paper or passed them on to others. And, while the north and centre of the Plateau were in effect barred to Portuguese observers by the threat of Rozvi power after 1693, the eastern Shona and those of the Zambezi valley remained under observation right up to modern times. Moreover, because a certain number of Shona

from the Plateau were accustomed to go to the coast or to the Zambezi to trade, Portuguese outside the Plateau were able to pick up information from Shona informants at first hand. It is true that the Portuguese documents have their faults, and anyone who recoils from traditions because of their limitations will be disappointed if he seeks absolute accuracy in the documents. Many Portuguese writers never got closer to the Plateau than Sofala or Moçambique, so that their accounts are hearsay, and many others who went up to the Zambezi never crossed the linguistic boundary from Lower Zambezi Tonga to Shona territory, while some of those who did neglected to indicate which society they were referring to. Again, many Portuguese writers did not know Shona — though quite a number probably did because they slept with Shona girls — and even those who did had some strange mediaeval and more familiar colonial prejudices. Those who did write had a rich assortment of biases in their accounts, depending upon whether they were priests, traders, or officials, and upon what they hoped to achieve by their writing. Finally, many seem to have plagiarized the work of others, so that what looks at first sight like an independent confirmation of an earlier statement could well be a copy. As with traditions, there is no easy way out of these problems: each case depends upon the specific evidence.

Since the Portuguese were mainly concerned with the wealth of the Plateau, and since they tended to think in terms of getting at that wealth through the various Shona rulers, most of the Portuguese tended to discusss the Mutapa state, and we cannot always be sure how typical their observations were for other Shona territories. On the other hand, João dos Santos made most of his observations in Teve, and we have to decide how far his claim that the 'customs' of the Mutapa state were like those of Teve is true.[1] Another factor to be borne in mind is that the Portuguese were not the only ones to have delusions about the way in which their own society operated: so did many of their Shona informants, and in many cases it seems that when the Shona told the Portuguese about aspects of their society, they were describing what they thought ought to occur rather than what actually did. In addition, Shona society of this earlier period is so like Shona society of the recent past that there is a strong temptation for the observer who knows the more recent society to believe that, when the Portuguese depicted a custom or spelt a word in a different fashion, they were wrong; quite often they were, but not always; for, as

pointed out above, societies and languages change, and the documents may in fact be showing how Shona society was before it changed.

The economic and social history of the Shona promises to be a rich field, but this account will be a short one, in so far as the integration of sixteenth-century documents with traditions and documents on the nineteenth century will be avoided and the earlier documents alone will be summarized and commented upon. Like the much greater work that inspired it, this account will begin with the 'little society' of the village and go on to deal with the 'wider society' of the territory, although for the moment it will not be possible to give anything like the detail supplied for the society of the Tio in the 1880s.[2]

ii. The 'little society'

The 'little society' corresponds to most of those known to us from archaeology, the single village in its site territory. Archaeology and the documents agree that this has hardly changed in its construction throughout the entire Shona period on the Plateau. The huts and grain-bins were made of poles and *daga* and thatched with straw, and in view of the frequency with which the Portuguese wrote that the huts were 'wooden', a high proportion of buildings may not have been plastered at all.[3] According to Santos, there were a lot of people who lived 'like wild animals' in the woods with their wives and children in single huts, although most people lived in villages.[4] Whether he referred to refugees from the Marave wars north of the Zambezi or to social outcasts is not certain, but single-family units on such a small scale do not appear to have been typical in Shona history, if only because of the lack of support against human or natural enemies. Most villages were neither very large nor very small, and those near Sofala in 1506 with about 400 people each were probably on the large side because Sofala was a port.[5]

The men, women, and children who lived in these villages nearly all lived in families composed of one husband, one wife, and various members of their own and other generations. Some Portuguese were told that each Shona man 'may have as many wives as he can maintain, but the first wife is the chief one, and the others wait upon her';[6] but the men, or women, who told them this were probably indulging in wishful thinking, for it soon became apparent that very few men had more than one

wife.[7] The basic reason for this was the natural one that the total numbers of women more or less equalled those of men, but this balance made itself felt in the 'custom' known to us today as *rovora* or bride-price. For a variety of reasons connected with the loss of a girl's labour to her father's household, and the stability of the marriage, which are known to us today in some detail but which do not really emerge from the documents, the prospective husband paid a bride-price to his *tezvara* (father-in-law).[8] Although cloth, beads, and hoes were often used to pay the bride-price in parts of the Plateau, cattle were commonly offered in the high country; but in the drylands of the lower Zambezi it was usually in cloth.[9] The sum asked for was considerable by the standards of the time; and, whereas only the richest could afford many wives, a father of many daughters could look forward to an increase in his wealth over a period of years.[10] As Santos pointed out, marriage was essentially a contract between the two parties,[11] and consequently mismarriages often occurred and divorce was common.[12] Adultery was so prevalent that if a man was merely seen sitting with another's wife on the same mat, the worst was assumed to have happened.[13] Another legal pretext for divorce was sterility — supposedly the woman's fault — but since a divorce involved the return of the bride-price some families went to considerable lengths to persuade the couple to reunite.[14] Another feature of the *rovora* 'custom' in general is expressed in the modern proverb, *'mukuwasha mukuyu, haaperi kudyiwa*, the son-in-law is a fig tree, he never stops being eaten' — in other words, a son-in-law may be in the debt of his *tezvara* for most of his life before *rovora* is finally paid. Thus, the wife-providing lineage was in a position of moral and financial superiority;[15] but on the Plateau at least, the wife went to live with her husband's people.[16]

The people's clothing varied according to their wealth, and so did their personal ornaments. Barros thought that all people wore cloth, but as far back as 1518 it had been clear that skins were still much used. The division between wearers of cloth and of skin was not necessarily that between rich and poor;[17] but in general this was the rule. In the territory of Tonge near the bay of Inhambane in the 1560s the Tonga subjects of the ruling Shona dynasty wore half a skin or cloth woven from bark,[18] and in Teve in the 1580s most of the people were so poor that they wore little more than a skin round their waist.[19] Yet, although most people did not have cloth, they desired it very much: in one place — admittedly in a non-Shona area — António Gomes saw tiny strips of

cloth less than two fingers in width being worn by women, apparently in preference to skins or barkcloth.[20] The general desire for cloth underpinned the entire commerce of the Plateau, as many Portuguese pointed out.[21] So did the desire for beads, which was so firmly developed that very definite changes in fashion occurred, with the result that traders had to be careful to avoid being caught with a stock of the wrong kinds of beads.[22] More basic needs than these were served by the grains that went into the family pot to make the various kinds of porridge that formed the basis of the diet. The Portuguese did not record the use of maize from America until much later, and then it spread slowly. Rice from Asia was often recorded, but most of the reports concerning it come from the coast or the Zambezi valley (it was grown on the Plateau in later centuries, but not on a large scale).[23] Such a diet needed *usavi* (relish) and a very wide variety of wild and cultivated vegetables and fruits met this need; American potatoes had already reached the coast by the 1640s.[24] Meat and fish were much desired, and, as Santos pointed out, 'they spare no kind of flesh'.[25]

The support of the village was its territory — the 'site territory' of archaeology that was discussed in Chapter 1. As suggested then, no matter what the total population of the Plateau was at any given moment, there was probably *relative* population pressure in terms of grazing and hunting lands. Santos pointed out one river as a major territorial boundary even though it was only small, and the relative closeness with which villages in some parts of the Zambezi valley were grouped makes it fairly certain that there were clearly understood boundaries. The same was true in the eastern Shona country, where little territories such as Bire or Bandire were to be found in between Manyika and Teve, or in Manyika itself where by the 1780s there were as many as forty-two wards in one small territory.[26] Inside this territory the activities described in Chapter 1 were carried on. Very roughly, labour was divided, with women working in the fields and men handling most of the other branches of production, but this was not entirely rigid and depended a good deal upon the time and place in question. Santos showed how women carried on the entire rice-growing near Sofala, where a good deal of surplus rice was sown for sale to the population of the port; and in Teve they not only carried out most of the cultivation but they also did the spinning of cotton. He put it down to the laziness of the men, though he admitted that a few men helped their wives in the fields. The Teve men spent a great deal of time in hunting, but we do not

know whether the meat brought back justified the time put into the chase or whether the men were indeed simply taking pleasure in the hunt.[27] Women also worked in the mines of Manyika and other goldfields.[28] On the other hand, by the 1780s at least some men were distinguished as *lavradores* (field workers).[29] In the drought-prone hinterland of the bay of Inhambane, however, André Fernandes sensed another reason for the female monopoly of agriculture: though the women did all the fieldwork as well as bringing all the water and firewood, the men 'go out for any little thing because they are too poor to be able to gain by it . . . and they will do anything they are told as long as you pay more or less what they ask. . . .' In other words, where agriculture was insecure in any case as a means of living, the men were driven by poverty into other activities.[30] Thus the division of labour was based mainly on the need for men to guard against *shangwa* (crop-failure) by going into other branches of production such as hunting or herding. On the other hand, in a male-dominated society the men were definitely reserving the more attractive activities for themselves.

When the day's work was over, the people had various ways of passing the time, and these activities also took place on the *mudzimu* (ancestral spirit) days on which no-one was allowed to work: the Shona recognized a thirty-day lunar month, divided into three ten-day weeks, and the holidays were decided by the ruler. In the Mutapa state in the 1530s the first, sixth, and seventh day of each week was a holiday, and the day of the new moon and the Mutapa's birthday as well; but by the early seventeenth century the holidays had been reduced from ten to seven, with the fourth and seventh day of each week and the day of the new moon being observed. No work was permitted on these days, and even the slaughter of a cow was forbidden, at least in theory. There was feasting and drinking on the first of the month in particular, and there was a good deal of drunkenness. Beer was brewed from millet, and there was a lot of *mbanje* (marijuana) that was eaten rather than smoked. As in many agricultural communities, intoxication seems to have been something of a problem, and some of the Teve and Mutapa rulers were notorious for drinking and *mbanje*-taking. The monthly celebrations were marked by dancing accompanied by the music of drums, horns, *mbira*, and, in the east, xylophones.[31]

Other activities that took place on these days had a minor role as entertainment even though their primary purpose was more

serious: politics, justice, and religion. Religion — which will be described more fully in the next section on the wider society — involved spirit possession, and was, as Santos noted, highly spectacular to watch as well as important to the community.[32] But another aspect of religion involved witchcraft. To the Shona, *uroyi* (witchcraft) could cause most if not all of mankind's ills even though the person who became a *muroyi* might not be able to help himself. Since, at any given moment, someone in the community might be suffering from misfortune, *uroyi* must have been a fairly common topic of conversation on the holidays. Barros thought that *uroyi* was punished by the Shona 'not from a religious motive, but because they hold it to be prejudicial to the lives and property of men'. Hence it ranked with theft and adultery as the most serious crimes, and it was one of the most serious accusations made against Fr Gonçalo da Silveira, that he was *muroyi*.[33] Accusations of witchcraft by the *nganga* (diviner) led to trials, justice being administered either by the elders of the village led by the village head or by the ruler and his court, and often involved trial by ordeal. Ordeals included the *mwavi* poison ritual (the guilty were expected to confess before they drank it), the *choka* or *zoka* ritual in which a red-hot adze was to be licked by the accused, and the *karu* in which a large and horrible drink was to be swallowed.[34] Quite apart from the entertainment provided,[35] and the much more serious question of the eradication of *uroyi*, there was another aspect. Lawsuits in general might bring wealth into the hands of the accuser, and prosecutions for the purpose of gain have been noted in poor communities other than the Shona. Among the people António Gomes found an obsession with prosecuting others and avoiding prosecution oneself.[36] In Monclaro's claim that witchcraft accusations were caused by jealousy[37] and in the complaints of Portuguese traders that they were prosecuted purely because of their wealth, there may be a grain of truth;[38] but Monclaro was wrong in thinking that these accusations stifled all individual enterprise, and many traders doubtless deserved punishment. Rulers, having an army of a kind, could execute offenders by decapitation, but it seems probable that the village head could do little more than exile or fine offenders.[39]

Local politics among the Shona rulers operated within the kinship system in most cases. Portuguese documents that refer to wealthy nobodies being elected because the people wanted to share in their wealth appear to refer to the Lower Zambezi Tonga who, with some notable exceptions, seem to have been organized in

much smaller units.[40] To a certain extent there do seem to have been elections of 'great' village heads to rulers' titles as Julio Cesar Vertua reported,[41] but the practice of the Manyika rulers of the 1780s in usually confirming the heirs of previous subrulers in their titles suggests that whatever 'elections' took place were strictly within the local dynasty's lineage, as Shona traditions suggest.[42] According to the traditions, the replacement of the complete lineage by another of a different totem within the same territory was very rare indeed, and political dissent took the form either of the alignment of the people behind one or another member of the ruling dynasty or emigration, as reported by Santos.[43] The reputed right of the Mutapa to re-allocate mining rights from one lineage to another was a slightly different matter, since it was apparently possible for one dynasty to own a gold-mine in the territory of another, as was the case with the Shawasha goldfield in the 1850s.[44] But it seems likely that any theoretical power of a ruler such as the Mutapa to change the rulers of tributary areas from one clan to another would have remained more or less a dead letter unless there had in any case been a change in the power structure of that land caused by immigration or some other change in the population. Unless the new ruler had many followers he might find the passive resistance of the old ruler's lineage to be too much to withstand.

This completes a brief account of the 'little society' as seen by the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Portuguese, and we now turn to the 'wider society'. To some extent, the division of the two is an unreal one, for the differences in scale between various Shona societies have always been so great that some independent territories ruled by long-established dynasties have been much smaller than wards governed by house-heads under great rulers and overlords. Moreover, just as the 'little society' was the basic unit of the 'wider society' and to a great extent its weaknesses and strengths governed the larger unit, so many of the activities of the larger society, such as government, war, and religion, affected the lesser unit. Nevertheless, it will be seen that some of the more mystifying features of the 'wider society' can be easily explained in the light of what we know about village life.

iii. The 'wider society'

If the 'little society' was centred on the pole-and-*daga* hut of the Later Iron Age, so was the 'wider society', on a grander scale. The

huts of the rulers were much larger, and at least in the early years of the Mutapa state they were made in the classic style of the Zimbabwe culture. A hut at the outlying *zimbabwe* of Nhunguza to the south of the Mazoe that was built and occupied *c.*1460-1500 was very probably a Mutapa's throne-building, and could have been occupied by one of the participants in the civil wars of the 1490s that were recorded by Alcáçova. It was divided into three compartments with two or even three entrances, which reminds us somewhat of the three separate gateways in the home of the Mutapa Gatsi Rusere who died in 1622, one for his wife, one for the cooks who brought food from the kitchen, and one for himself and his most trusted servants leading into his own apartments; the documents on his capital's plan, however, are not absolutely precise. This hut at Nhunguza was built in the true Zimbabwe style with solid *daga* walls and prestige-type stonework around them, and both Alcáçova and Veloso described such buildings, as built 'of stone and clay and very large and on one level' and as 'a fortress of the king of Menomotapa [which] is now made of stone without mortar'.[45] By the middle of the sixteenth century, however, solid *daga* huts had been replaced by pole-and-*daga* huts, and the stone walls had largely been replaced by a large wooden stockade. Stone building was not forgotten, however, and some non-granite *zimbabwe* were built at various times in the Zambezi valley. Indeed, some of the more classical *zimbabwe* such as Zvongombe on the Plateau may possibly have been occupied to quite a late date, and the art of stone building in the Mutapa state developed into a style of loopholed stone forts that were still being built as late as 1897.[46] In areas such as Teve, too, *zimbabwe* were apparently no longer being built in stone by the 1570s.[47] The reason for this decline in stone building may simply be that, even though the Mutapa state and Teve were probably independent of the Zimbabwe state at a relatively early stage, they were slightly closer to it, in cultural terms of both time and distance, than they were to Zimbabwe's successor, the Torwa state at Khami in the south-west. In terms of their site territories, however, the *zimbabwe* of the Mutapa state and some other areas had a lot of the problems of Zimbabwe itself. For they were big: as early as 1506 Alcáçova was calling the Mutapa *zimbabwe* a 'city', and most of his successors were to agree with this.[48] Barbosa referred to a 'very large town' and another 'very large city', while Santos estimated the population of the bigger Shona rulers' capitals at two or three thousand.[49] Vertua in 1620 wrote that the capital of

Mutapa Gatsi Rusere had an outer circumference of more than a league (nearly four miles) with the huts spaced out a stone's throw from each other, presumably a much pleasanter place than Zimbabwe to live in. Nine enclosures belonged to the Mutapa himself and his wives.[50]

Accounts of the numbers of wives a ruler possessed varied wildly, from 'more than a thousand' to simply 'many', both of these estimates being for the same ruler's household; this may reflect the exaggerations of both the Portuguese and ordinary Shona who were monogamists.[51] The Shona rulers received wives from many quarters, but there was a widespread 'custom' that at least some of these would be full sisters of the ruler, and in the case of the Mutapa the chief wife was a full sister.[52] This custom has been the subject of a great deal of speculative writing concerning its origin and function, and this account does not pretend to solve these problems but it can point out some of the ways in which the 'custom' played a part in the government of a state or territory. Firstly, since incest was one of the major taboos of Shona society and one of the major functions of the totem system was to prevent it, a ruler such as the Mutapa was demonstrating his special status by committing it. Thus a legend of incest between the Matope figure and his sister the Nehanda figure appeared in due course to 'explain' the 'custom'.[53] Secondly, there was the fairly obvious point that a ruler who married his sister paid *rovora* to no-one and owed nothing to any *tezvara* who might dominate him. Thirdly, a sister had certain political uses which can be seen not only in the documents but also in the traditions of certain dynasties which came from the Mutapa state area. The Mutapa state and such territories as Teve probably derived such customs from a common source, Zimbabwe. For one thing, the wives of rulers were not mere chattels but powerful personalities in their own right. To be called a ruler's 'wife' was a major compliment for a man, whether he was a Shona or a Portuguese,[54] and the very name of the Shona dynasties of the north and east in the sixteenth century, 'Karanga', means 'wife'. For another, although the chief wife of the ruler was his sister and they may have really committed incest at the beginning of his reign, a ruler had access to many girls, and his sons would most probably be borne by them. Mutapa Gatsi Rusere's favourite wife was his third one, for example.[55] Consequently, a ruler would probably not have a son by his sister, which would mean that she would be a slightly more impartial figure when the time came for his sons or brothers to fight for the

title, as they often did on the death of a ruler. Moreover, a first-wife sister had the means to make her wishes felt in such a situation, since each was allocated a ward or sub-territory for herself, complete with villages and the fighting men who went with them.[56] It was probably for this reason that the 'wives' of the Shona rulers, male or female, took such a part in succession struggles.

At this point, however, it is worth pointing out the difference between theory and practice, or between what the Shona thought ought to happen and what actually did. For example, in theory a Shona ruler had to be physically perfect, and had to commit suicide if he became impotent or became ill or was disfigured in any way, but in practice this sort of suicide was extremely rare. Santos did record a ruler of the coastal land of Danda who killed himself on contracting leprosy, but when the ruler of Teve lost a tooth he simply said that the custom was foolish and that he did not intend to follow it.[57] To some extent such a 'tradition' of royal suicide might reflect the deaths of rulers in civil wars, as happened in Manyika in the nineteenth century.[58] The same was true of rulers' wives: Monclaro heard that the Manyika ruler's wives committed suicide on his death in the early 1570s, but although Santos heard in the 1580s that a Teve chief's wives followed him into death, he also heard of the prominent role played by his wives at his successor's installation.[59] Perhaps the best example of the distinction between theory and practice can be seen in the events that followed the leper-ruler of Danda's suicide:

> King Sedanda . . . , having named the prince who was to succeed him, he took poison and died. . . . Sedanda being dead, the prince whom he had chosen in this life would have entered the palace and seated himself with the wives of the former king. . . . But things fell out very differently from what he expected, for the king's wives had a great aversion to him, on account of his evil condition and other defects which they found in him. In the night therefore they secretly summoned another prince, upon whom they had fixed their eyes as more skilful and more pleasing to them, and seated him with them in the king's public place. . . . When the prince appointed by the dead king saw his plans thus frustrated, he fled for fear of being put to death, and the king elected by the wives was left reigning. But he did not remain long in peace, for the prince who had fled was very powerful and was looked upon as the successor of the dead king. He assembled a large force, and came with violence to take possession of the kingdom, forcing an entrance to the palace in

> defiance of the king's wives, at which all were amazed, for none may enter there by force, and this action was sufficient to cause all his party to desert him and side with the women and the king whom they had elected, so that the rebel was forced to flee and never raised his head again.[60]

It should be pointed out that although this conflict between two customs was implied to have been resolved without violence, nevertheless a large force had set out to install the first son by force or the threat of force.

The clothing of the rulers of the Shona and their followers was very different from that of the people. Some wore skins, probably of such attractive animals as leopards or wild cats, and wore 'those skins trailing along the ground like tails, to show quality and gallantry, making leaps and gestures that make those tails go from one side to the other'.[61] But most wore the usual dress of the wealthy Muslims of the East African coastal cities, a cloth from their middles to their feet, tucked in around the waist, and often another cloth worn round their shoulders and hanging down as a cloak. The really wealthy had their clothes so long that they dragged on the ground and thus wore away: conspicuous consumption in a Shona society. Men wore their hair as long as possible so that it could be arranged in elaborate styles, and in the sixteenth century at least the most popular fashion was for the hair to be arranged in horn-like shapes, the more the better. Women wore similar cloths from the waist to calf, with heavy copper bangles from there to the feet. The materials varied: some of the richest people wore silks, damasks, satins, and cloth of gold, often embroidered or decorated with ribbons, while less well-off people wore imported Indian cottons, often dyed in stripes. In Gatsi Rusere's time the Mutapa also wore silk, but earlier in the sixteenth century he had worn white cotton woven locally. This was not out of a sense of modesty; it was then said that the Mutapa might be bewitched by *uroyi* if he used foreign cloth, but it was also true that the best quality of Shona-made cloth was so fine that it was often worn by rulers, probably because, in terms of man-hours in an agricultural society where it was made 'with much labour', it was in fact extremely expensive. Cloths of this kind decorated the walls of the Mutapa's hut.[62]

The richer people ate much the same food as the poor, except that there was more of it and a better variety, and like the rulers of Zimbabwe and its smaller centres the Shona rulers kept big pots of beer in their audience-huts for themselves and visitors.[63]

The problems of feeding the large populations of the *zimbabwe* of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, seem to have been considerable. Barros wrote that the Mutapa's 'captains' and their men worked in the fields, Vertua mentioned *procuradores* — almost certainly males — who worked in the fields as well as herded cattle, and Conceição wrote of the extensive crops cultivated by the *cafres* who aided the Mutapa's wives.[64] These references to male work in the fields — unusual in Portuguese observations — seem to point to a problem of supply where large settlements were concerned, and this is backed up by the fact that part of the price of government by rulers such as the Mutapa or the Teve was the performance of labour services for the ruler in fields that belonged to him. Barros claimed that seven days out of thirty were spent in this way by the Mutapa's male followers and those of his subrulers — a very high figure when it is remembered that at that time there were also seven *mudzimu* days. Santos claimed that such fields were found throughout Teve. This might be true for the smaller territory, but it seems unlikely that this was true all the way through the Mutapa state, for it was so large that there would have been problems of transport: although it was perfectly possible for grain to be carried in wicker panniers by cattle, the Portuguese do not mention this being done and the only other means of transportation was in baskets on the heads of women. This was not only a slow and tedious way of moving rather small quantities of grain, but it removed from their home villages the women upon whose labour those villages depended. Thus, each tributary ruler paid 'according to what the land produces, so do they pay their tribute in that particular produce, but always very little'.[65] The grain thus taken for tribute was then available for redistribution to the people in time of *shangwa*, at least in theory. But in practice the requirements of the ruler's personal following, the difficulty of storing grain over long periods and the problems of transporting grain for redistribution would have lessened the chances of this actually happening.

Vertua's mention of herding is only one of several in the documents, but these references in connection with the 'wider society' are in many ways tantalizingly vague. They do tell us that the Plateau Shona had large herds of cattle, which we knew in any case from the archaeology, but very little of the way in which herding fitted into society can be seen in the documents.[66] It can be fairly assumed that at least some of the problems of tsetse infestation existed in the lowland areas, since tsetse appears to have afflicted

the animals of the Portuguese at Sena in 1572-3,[67] and although it was possible for the lowlanders to import cattle from Butua in the far south-west it seems that the Plateau Shona were the only ones who could build up large herds.[68] The second major source of wealth on the Plateau, the gold-mines, contributed to the running of the 'wider society' in two ways, for the rulers could tax both the actual production at the mines themselves and the exchange of the gold for imports at a later stage. It should be remembered, however, how difficult a complicated geology and a limited technology made it for agriculturalists to carry out gold-mining. Shona rulers of both territories and states claimed the right to authorize all mining or forbid it, as they chose.[69] There were two reasons for this. On the one hand, Shona rulers were probably aware that the amount of workable ore in each mine and the number of available mines in each territory were limited, and this would account for the frequency with which the Portuguese noted the closure of mines. On the other hand the rulers wished to keep as tight a hold as possible on the wealth.[70] Estimates of the extent to which gold production was taxed at source appear at first sight to vary, but in practice they are more or less consistent. António Fernandes reported in 1512 that the rulers of Manyika and the lower Mazoe took 50 per cent of the production.[71] Barros wrote that when the Mutapa wanted some gold he sent one or two cows to a mining area, according to the number of people there, and in return each person sent back a little gold, worth about 500 *reis*.[72] This was a very small sum, and even if it was due from everyone in the whole community rather than just those who worked in the mine, it would not amount to very much. Monclaro, who more or less confirmed Barros, pointed out that the day's production for one person on the mines did not exceed one and one-half *cruzados* or 600 *reis*.[73] This being the case, one can see that the tax levied was at least the 50 per cent reported by António Fernandes. António Gomes clarified things a little in 1648 when he pointed out that tax was paid on the first part of production, which would presumably leave everybody free to work for their own profit once the ruler had been satisfied.[74] We do not know exactly how much gold the ruler would have got by this method because we do not know how many people were expected to pay tax, or for how many working days they were expected to do so, but it can be seen from the foregoing why the ruler sent cattle: if he planned to take such a high proportion of the initial output of a mine which was worked with such difficulty and danger and which might

'pinch out' after the ruler's needs had been satisfied, he might find it impossible to get co-operation at all without the gift of cattle to act as an incentive. (This would be particularly effective in the cattle-poor lowlands of the lower Ruya and Mazoe between the Portuguese posts at Tete and Sena and the Mutapa state proper, which would be the area best known to the Portuguese.) But even this arrangement was not the answer to labour relations on the sixteenth-century goldfields: it was noted that the people did their best to cheat their rulers over the actual amount extracted, especially big nuggets,[75] and as late as the eighteenth century in the compact land of Manyika lucky miners were interrogated by the spirit medium on the number of nuggets found and forced to swear that they had not cheated the ruler.[76]

As for the rulers and their courts that were supported by the fields, herds, and mines in the countryside, the Portuguese left several accounts of them and their life styles and modern historians have drawn some remarkable conclusions from these without allowing to any great extent for the circumstances or the periods in which these accounts were written. On the one hand, as pointed out before, Shona society changed over the years, and details that might be true at one time might not be true in later years. Santos, for example, denied the accounts given by earlier writers such as Barros to the effect that the Mutapa's insignia as a ruler were an ivory-handled ceremonial hoe and two arrows or assegais; he said that it was perfectly normal for rulers, like the rest of the Shona, to carry weapons about with them, and that the Mutapa's special insignia consisted of a gold-pointed spear and three carven sticks.[77] All that this proved was that things may have changed between the 1530s when Barros' source Pegado was at Sofala and the 1590s when Santos was in the Mutapa state, or alternatively that Santos saw the Mutapa on an informal occasion.

A more serious error arose out of the circumstances in which the Portuguese contacted the Mutapa. Most of them — or their Shona informants — visited the Mutapa at a time of formal audience. The Mutapa and other rulers were accustomed to receive visitors in a special situation in which concealment was practised: at first, the ruler would speak from a window, so that he could see his visitors but they could not see him.[78] A second feature was that the Mutapa was surrounded by an entourage who used to cry out his praises when he did such things as cough, sneeze, or

drink.[79] A third feature was that visitors were supposed to crawl towards him over the audience floor, clapping their hands in greeting and looking sideways.[80] Such features have been elaborated by historians into an exaggerated picture:

> Except on ceremonial occasions, he was never seen in public. Within his compound he was approached crawling, and was usually concealed behind a curtain: his voice was audible, but he could not be seen. Any involuntary action of the king was imitated by his entourage. If he coughed, all coughed. If he sprained his ankle, all limped.[81]

Such accounts as this not only tend to confuse the 'customs' of the Mutapa state with those of Teve and cite the sources inaccurately, but they do not give the full picture as shown in those sources. A more careful reading of the documents shows that what happened at formal audiences with Shona rulers was not typical of their lives. The 'custom' of concealment reported by Barbosa was negated in practice because, after the Mutapa had seen his visitor from his window, he used to interview him in private.[82] The Teve ruler was only concealed by a curtain for part of his installation ceremony.[83] In fact, rulers such as these used to walk about or go hunting or to war just like anybody else; Santos describes the Mutapa walking among the people with an escort, and the Teve ruler going out to hunt in a major drive of game with two or three thousand men.[84] Barros noted how the Mutapa went out in the open countryside and rested under a tree or went out to war with his army, in which case a new hut was built for him each night with a fire that was kept burning in case a *muroyi* got hold of the ashes for some evil purpose.[85] Nor is it likely that full ceremonial was maintained on these occasions: to have two or three thousand men coughing, sneezing, limping, or crying out simultaneously would tend to disrupt the hunt or the line of march. The customs concerning etiquette at audiences varied somewhat according to circumstances, as well. In 1620 when Vertua visited the Mutapa Gatsi Rusere he was insistent that full honours be paid, because he and the Portuguese had been at loggerheads for over a decade; but in 1572 the Mutapa had been personally willing enough to waive the ceremonies, and in 1552 Barros wrote that 'all must be seated, and if any speak to him standing, they are Portuguese, or Moors, or some of his people to whom he has granted permission to do so as an honour.'[86]

Perhaps the most important error concerning Shona rulers is the one concerning 'divine kingship'.[87] No matter what a 'divine king' might be in other parts of Africa, neither the Mutapa nor any other Shona ruler can be accurately described as 'divine' in terms of Shona theology, even the theology known to us from the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documents. The term is patently inaccurate. The Portuguese were on the whole interested in religious matters, and most of their conclusions were not only consistent but agree with more modern studies of Shona religion. Biased sources such as the traders at Moçambique or Fr João dos Santos, either aggrieved at their financial losses or their lack of success in conversion, might claim that the Shona knew no God and had no religion, yet their own accounts would contradict this;[88] and most of the Portuguese saw Shona religion as a coherent and logical force, whether or not they thought it would be possible to use it to convert the Shona to Christianity.[89] In the first place, there was a high-god who was not worshipped through any kind of idolatry. At first, writers such as Veloso or Figueroa confused the celebrations of the *mudzimu*-day of the new moon with worship, and wrote that the Shona worshipped the moon, sun, or stars;[90] but fairly soon it became clear that there was a high-god named Mulungu or Umbe, who was recognized as supreme even though he was not prayed to directly but was instead approached by the *mudzimu* spirits of dead ancestors.[91] This situation was so much like that of more recent Shona religion that it is worth indicating exactly what the documents say so that the differences can be noted. Firstly, Santos noted that the people turned to the rulers of lands such as Teve in order to obtain what they needed, especially rain. For this reason Santos wrote that the Teve ruler thought of himself as a god, but his own account shows that this was not true. For the people turned to the ruler because he had the closest access to the medium of the *mudzimu* spirits of his ancestors. Thus it was possible to watch the ruler, who had received the offerings of the people in return for rain, showing respect to the possessed medium as though he was his real father, asking advice about politics and the possibility of war or a famine.[92] But the significant fact was that there was no suggestion that any ruler was ever possessed by a spirit himself or that his person itself was divine. The respect due to the ruler on ceremonial occasions was basically political respect, not religious respect, and it is worth noting that although the people deferred to the ruler because of his access to a *mudzimu* spirit that could, it was implied, contact the high-god, that spirit was important because it was the spirit of a former powerful ruler and there was no suggestion that the ruler

consulted the spirits of ordinary people. In other words, even in the spirit world, religion was based on politics to the extent that it was rooted in the earlier material success of rulers. The rulers, in short, were respected by the Shona people, but they were not divine in terms of Shona theology.

Other differences between the Shona religion before 1700 and that of more recent times can be noted. A devil-figure called Musuka was noted, but whether this was an accurate observation of a now-vanished feature of Shona theology cannot now be told.[93] There was no mention of any aspect of the high-god named 'Mwari' at this time, nor were there any superior spirit mediums described who correspond to the Chaminuka or Nehanda *mhondoro* of the nineteenth century; on the evidence these two appear to be dateable to no period earlier than the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, although there was a 'Nyahanda' in the early seventeenth century who was the second wife of the Mutapa.[94] It follows, therefore, that any attempts to discuss how the cults of Mwari, Chaminuka, or Nehanda would have related to Shona rulers and their *mudzimu* spirits depend upon the ability of writers to prove that traditions about these reach back into the remote past, and as implied earlier this seems doubtful.[95] It is also worth noting that although the Karuva-Chikara *mhondoro* cult of Choma, a Tavara territory on the Zambezi, can be traced back as a cult as far as the 1760s, the earliest known reference to Choma in the 1630s refers to its being ruled by 'Ambuya, the chief house-steward, whose charge it is when Mazarira, the king's great wife dies, to name another Mazarira to inherit her house and state'.[96] This does not sound much like a leader of a Tavara territorial cult, male or female, and therefore even this cult cannot be given a very long history as a religious institution.

If the link between the Shona rulers and divinity was rather tenuous, the same could not be said for the link between the rulers and the military. Like all rulers, the Shona rulers' power depended ultimately upon their power to kill their subjects and others who defied them. Thus armed forces figured considerably in the Portuguese accounts, but the figures given obviously exaggerate wildly. If one account was to be believed, if the Mutapa could command a hundred thousand men then he had a force that amounted to nearly one-third of the entire male population, from the cradle to the grave, of the Plateau in the nineteenth century.[97] But the Portuguese were not very good at calculating numbers where they either did not see the forces involved or only glimpsed

them over the sights of their arquebuses; not until Rozvi forces camped alongside the *feira* of Zumbo in the eighteenth century did more believable figures appear. The composition of these forces is not clear from the documents, but estimates of the strength of the Manyika rulers, exaggerated in proportion to those of the Mutapa, make it clear that they depended very much upon a levy of all the men who could be spared from other activities, for the force that could be raised to defend the land was much greater than that which went out to attack others.[98] The Shona rulers did maintain a small force that was more or less to hand at any given moment; but these were not full-time fighters. Barros credited the Mutapa with a force of more than 500 'jesters' whose main function, it was clear, was to act as a bodyguard; Santos noted two to three hundred 'executioners' who seemed to have more or less the same function.[99] It is not known from whom these were selected, but it seems probable that most of them would have been related to the ruler by blood or by marriage. In time of war, as suggested above, levies would be raised from the rest of the land.

Shona armies of this period were capable of operating over long distances: those of Teve and Manyika had to repel raiders sent by the Mutapa,[100] and it will be suggested later that much of the early history of the eastern Shona can be explained by the fact that their country was too far from the Mutapa state to be controlled by the Mutapa but not so far as to be free of his exactions entirely. Shona armies started out with their own food from their homes, and were later given cattle that the Mutapa brought into his camp.[101] Otherwise they had to live off the country, and Monclaro's experience in the drylands of the Zambezi valley was that a large force could not remain on one spot for more than three days without starving.[102] Shona armies went to war under battle standards of basketwork covered with cloth, in the shape of leopards, lions, elephants, or bulls.[103] Their weapons were spears, clubs, axes, and bows and arrows, and they carried large shields as tall as a man and three palms wide, made of wood with a spike at the botton. They were commanded by means of signals from horns and drums, the distinctive note of the commander's drum being easily distinguished.[104] The Lower Zambezi Tonga against whom the Mutapa fought from *c.*1550 onwards used to fight on the offensive, trying like the nineteenth-century Nguni to spread out around the enemy on both sides and envelop him: not in reality a

very subtle manoeuvre.[105] The Shona of the early seventeenth century, however, had developed a defensive technique that could be used in the field; on the blowing of a given signal on a horn, the men would plant their spiked shields in the ground in a formation that made three sides of a square, with the baggage in the middle and an open rear, from behind which they could use their weapons more freely.[106] This gave their attacking formations a degree of security if the battle should start to turn against them.

At this time, however, they were as likely to come up against the African armies of the Portuguese *prazo*-holders as against other Shona forces, and this involved the possibility of coming under the fire of guns. Guns had been in the hands of the Shona and their neighbours since about 1515,[107] and by the late 1590s they were sufficiently common for there to be a prohibition against carrying them in the Mutapa state.[108] Firearms were, in the end, not decisive weapons in the limited numbers in which they were imported before 1700, for though they could aid an intelligent commander they could not save an incompetent from defeat.

In the early sixteenth century the important men of the Mutapa state — the swaggering dandies wearing fine skins mentioned earlier — wore short swords in gold-ornamented wooden sheaths, hung by belts of dyed cloth from the waist, and it is probable that these swords were carried by the Mutapa's chief war leaders, such as the Sono. The Sono — the name meant 'woman' at that time — was said to be leading a large permanent force about the state in the early 1500s, putting down rebellions, which were signalled by a refusal of a subject leader to accept a gift of fire from the Mutapa or a refusal to attend the *mando* ceremony held every year at the *zimbabwe*. Under the Sono was a special group described as 'women' to the Portuguese, almost certainly honoured *karanga* of the Mutapa. But one of the problems of the Shona state was to find ways to control such war leaders, for by 1516 the Sono was in rebellion.[109] Other such figures named Nengomasha, Mukomohasha, and 'Nurucao' were prominent by the end of the century, but the problem was to endure.[110]

If the power of such rulers as the Mutapa to extract wealth from the people in the form of grain or gold tribute was more dependent upon the power of a Shona army than the moral influence of Shona religion, this was even more true of their power to tax the foreign traders, who were in even less of a position to resist and who were largely Muslim and Christian, at least in

theory. *Torwa* means simply stranger or foreigner, with the exact meaning depending on the context. It was used, for example, to name the rulers based on the state at Khami in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and it could be used to describe people living in a Shona community without being related to it. It is in this latter sense that it is used to describe the Muslim and Portuguese who traded on the Plateau before 1700. The Portuguese documents referred frequently to *mouros* who were trading in the country, and this has been variously translated as 'Arabs' or 'Swahili' by various writers. In fact, to the Portuguese of that time *mouro* simply meant a Muslim, of whatever colour and language, who was distinguished by a Muslim name, a turban, and some degree of Islamic religion. As far as the Muslims of the Plateau, the Zambezi valley, and the coast were concerned, the best hint to their identity is in Barbosa: 'These Moors of Sofala are black men, some olive, and use the tongue of the land which is that of the Gentiles . . . [though they] speak some Arabic.'[111] Since the Swahili of this period were already Islamicized, the 'Gentile' language can only have been Sena or Shona, and it seems highly probable that the Muslims of the Plateau, some five centuries after East African trade began to reach it, were simply Islamicized Shona. It is of course possible that Swahili and even Arabs did visit the Plateau, but there is no definite proof for it.

To a certain extent this crossing of racial divisions by Islam was paralleled by Portuguese culture, but on a much smaller scale: for example, a certain number of coastal Shona turned to Christianity quite early in the sixteenth century, and although the Shona religion was not seriously affected by the inroads of Christianity there was a certain amount of conversion on the Plateau before the wars of the 1690s, with the best-known examples being certain members of the Mutapa dynasty who entered the church and died as clerics in India.[112] Nevertheless, conversions in the Mutapa state were hampered by the economic necessity for the Dominicans to make a living by trading. As a Mutapa complained, they spent nine months a year doing so, 'and business goes well with those that have a wife and children to support . . . I have never come across one who called my children or my vassals and asked them whether they would like to become Christians'. No wonder the Christianity of most Mutapas was limited to a token baptism.[113] There was also a non-Christian African ally of the Portuguese traders near Inhambane in 1560 named António Fernandes, and as the Portuguese presence on and near the Plateau continued

there were ever more *mwanamuzungu* (descendants of the Portuguese) of varying colours, and by the nineteenth century many 'Portuguese' were almost indistinguishable from Africans.[114] On the whole, however, the nature of the Portuguese presence on the coast tended to work against their reaching the same degree of acculturation as the Muslims.

It follows from this that Portuguese references to *mouros* do not necessarily prove that they were all foreigners on the Plateau, since Islam was a spreading force in itself, but nevertheless it seems likely that the rest of the Shona thought of them as *torwa*, since even today the Shona-speaking Lemba, who have only vestigial traits of Islam, are lumped together with Muslim Indians under the general classification of *mwenye*.[115] A Portuguese estimate of 10,000 *mouros* on the Plateau was a wild exaggeration, for it can be shown that in the sixteenth century in the Zambezi valley, where the greatest concentration of Muslims would certainly have been for the same reasons that the Portuguese concentrated there later, there were no more than 20 Muslim rulers-cum-traders with no more than about 800 Islamicized African supporters.[116] It would therefore be surprising if the Muslim presence on the Plateau ever exceeded 1,500-2,000, especially if the distribution of Portuguese on the Plateau, supported by the same economic pattern, is taken into account. For the numbers of the Portuguese rarely amounted to much, and most of these were concentrated on the ports of Sofala, Sena, Tete, and Quelimane. In the 1590s there were about 90 Portuguese and about 1,300 Christian Africans at Sena and Tete, and proportionally fewer on the Plateau itself. Portuguese claims that they lost 300-400 men in the Zambezi valley and on the Plateau in 1631 should be compared to their population in the important Plateau centre of Masapa in 1628: 8 men. In 1633, after their victory, they numbered no more than 200 in the whole region.[117] As so often happened, the Portuguese leaders were prone to exaggerate figures. But it need not be necessary to judge the influence of either Muslims or Portuguese by the numbers of their own people; both of them tended to fit into African politics, and whereas in the Zambezi valley below Tete and on the coast there were Sena- and Shona-speaking territories governed by Muslims,[118] the Portuguese in the same areas tended to acquire similar lands known as the *prazos da coroa*, whose turbulent leaders will be observed in later chapters, and which have acquired their own historiography.[119]

The *torwa* communities were recognized as distinct groups by

the Shona rulers such as the Mutapa, and whereas there was a prominent Muslim named Mingane who was more or less the leader of his community in the Mutapa state in 1560-1,[120] the growth in numbers of the Portuguese in the state had led since 1541 to the appointment of community leaders for the Portuguese, eventually to be known as 'Captains of the Gates'.[121] Such leaders were appointed by the Mutapa for life, had judicial rights over their own communities and those with whom they conflicted, and were themselves expected to keep in contact with the Mutapa through certain of his wives.[122] It should be realized that these *torwa* leaders, though elected by their own people, were equivalent to any Shona subrulers of the Mutapa state, and the Captain of the Gates was not to cease to be a subject of the Mutapa until well into the seventeenth century.

The purpose of both the *torwa* communities was to become rich by trade, since only newcomers to the Plateau who were ignorant of the disappointing returns from the mines, caused by an unfriendly geology and technical problems, imagined that they could become rich by seizing the mines themselves. This was not to stop successive new arrivals from Portugal from trying to do so, but Monclaro commented that the Mutapa 'has already given some [mines] to those Portuguese who sojourned there, but they would not accept inasmuch as there is greater expenditure in extracting the gold, and but little is taken in a day; business and trade are more profitable'. This shows that the best way of tapping the wealth of the Plateau was to accept that it was the product of the secondary activities of an agricultural economy and to be patient.[123] It has already been shown how the Shona rulers taxed gold production at source by demanding a gold tribute of about 50 per cent. This left the Shona miner, as was also mentioned before, with the choice of making up a party to go to the coastal ports to trade or accepting a lower price from traders who had come inland; this latter price was balanced to some extent by the saving of the man-hours it took to walk to the coast. Nevertheless, the price was lower than it might have been, and there are references to the way in which traders tried to tempt people to take goods in advance, on credit.[124] In the early sixteenth century there were Muslim bazars in places such as Teve to which the Shona used to come to trade their gold for cloth and beads. These were in the course of time replaced by similar Portuguese *feiras*, which, however, were not the only places at which trade was conducted.[125] Well before the 1540s the initial antagonism between the

Portuguese and Muslims had died down for the time being as the Portuguese made themselves masters of all the trade exits from the coast, and Muslims had little choice but to go far into the interior as agents for Portuguese traders in the ports.[126] When such *feiras* as Masapa, Manyika, Dambarare, and others were established, they acted as bases for further aggressive salesmanship, and by the 1640s António Gomes was pointing out how 'Beads and cloth used to be the businesses of the *cafres*, in the old days they used to come for it to the fairs but covetousness and greed has brought the cloth to their door . . . a trader comes with 300, 400 or 500 *cafres* loaded and they steal anything they come across and the natives from the villages move over to other places so as not to be subjected to such humiliation'.[127] The estimated profits of the *torwa* as a whole, assuming that the community was an united body, were enormous. Barbosa thought that the Muslims were making a hundred-fold profit, and Monclaro estimated that a similar profit could be made by buying locally made cloth on the lower Zambezi with Indian beads, to be resold elsewhere.[128]

This process of aggressive salesmanship was partly the consequence of the taxes on profits imposed by Shona, Muslim, and Portuguese rulers alike. Thus in 1506 it was reported that the taxes paid by south-bound traders at Mombasa and Kilwa were well over 50 per cent, while the same trader going north would pay 5 per cent of the goods carried.[129] The exactions made by the Portuguese Captains of Moçambique were almost as deadly.[130] After such individuals as the Muslim leaders at Sofala and Sena or the local Portuguese leaders had been circumvented or bribed, there remained the Shona rulers to be dealt with. To begin with, each trader who entered the territory would be expected to visit the ruler, bringing with him a present.[13] Their taxes varied, but it was possible for rulers such as the Teve whose lands lay on the trade route to Sofala to exact a 15 per cent tax from Shona traders on their way there, while the Mutapa charged a duty of 5 per cent on imports.[132] Nor was this the end of the ways in which Shona rulers taxed the trade: every new Captain at Moçambique was required to pay the *curva*, a gift of cloth and beads to the value of 3,000 *cruzados* to be given to the Mutapa in return for the right of the Portuguese to trade in the Mutapa state.[133] At first this would have been every three years since Captains were theoretically appointed for that period, but by the 1620s it had been increased to 15,000 *cruzados* and made an annual payment.[134] The rulers of

Teve similarly charged the Portuguese at Sofala 200 cloths a year worth 250 *cruzados* in return for keeping the trade route open.[135]

It can thus be seen in the entire economic process from the digging of gold on the Plateau and its sale in India and the weaving of cloth in India and its sale on the Plateau, that goods were taxed at the mines, on the way to the trading posts, at the Shona rulers' capitals, and on the sea route itself. It is something of a commentary on the pressures of the Plateau environment that trade took place at all. And, indeed, there were times when it broke down entirely. Not only did Shona rulers fight to control the routes to the coast, with a detrimental effect on trade, but the Captains of Moçambique might withhold the *curva*. The response of the Mutapa to this was to declare a *mupeto* (forced payment), which in effect meant the robbery of all the traders on the Plateau.[136] But this was to kill the goose that laid the golden eggs, for if the traders were to be ruined there would be no trade until they were replaced. In any case, there was the fact that, unless the Shona rulers could contact alternative traders to the Portuguese on the coast or the Portuguese could take the mines and work them more effectively than the Shona, there was no way out of the deadlock. In the meantime, the ultimate losers were the ordinary Shona of the 'little society' since they were trapped between the threat of *shangwa* on the one hand and the exorbitantly priced goods, taxes, and wars of their rulers and the *torwa* of the 'wider society' on the other.

'The labour which the Africans had in working in the bowels of the earth, the risk being so great that every day numbers were in danger of being buried in the mines,' (Diogo de Couto, d.1616). The conditions in the upper levels of the Sable Mine inthe 1890s were much the same as in Shona mines of earlier centuries.
(Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe)

CHAPTER 4

The Mutapa State[1]

i. The dimensions of the state

Until recently, there has been a tendency among historians to use the term 'empire' for the major Shona states. This term, borrowed from Portuguese mediaeval practice, is most misleading because it does not make clear the distinction between the central state and the outlying tributaries. By a 'state' is meant a large but compact area under the control of one dynasty, whether that control was exercised through subrulers of the central dynasty or though non-related groups. Either way, the ruler of the state would have considerable powers of control within the area of the state, except during civil wars. By 'outlying tributaries' are meant areas that might from time to time pay tribute to the ruler of the state, but which at other times would be independent or even at war with him. Again, the subrulers of these tributary areas might or might not be related to the ruler. As pointed out earlier, only four Shona political units appear to have been able to compel the allegiance of tributaries at any distance over any significant period of time, largely by the threat of military force: the Mutapa and Changamire states and — with less direct evidence — those of Zimbabwe and the Torwa.

In the Mutapa state, some lands were directly under the control of the Mutapa himself, and have remained under the control of his direct descendants; the lands of western Chidima, for example, are still dominated by the houses descended from Kasekete, a grandson of the Mukombwe figure who was Mutapa from *c.*1663 until *c.*1683. In other areas, such as the lands between the lower Ruya and Mazoe, the ruling dynasties have built up a local myth of association with the Mutota figure in order to justify their right to the land.[2] In yet other areas, the rulers claim to have received their land from the Mukombwe figure. Even where the rulers belonged to those peoples who were in the land before the Mutapa dynasty, as in Choma and Chibonga, there is a tradition that explains their subordination to the Mutapa. Whatever the real basis

of the state was, traditions of this kind give us an idea of its extent, and the Portuguese documents on the Mutapa generally agree on the location and limits of the state. António Bocarro's account even makes clear the distinction between subrulers under the Mutapa himself who visited his court, and those subrulers who were within the state structure, but who had more autonomy and did not visit.[3]

Outside the state as defined above, the situation was very different. Traditions and contemporary documents claim that such important territories as the Lower Zambezi Tonga country, Barwe, Manyika, Teve, and Danda were at various times tributary to the Mutapa, or that their dynasties originated in his area. But it is also clear that for much of the time they were independent or at war with the Mutapa. Indeed, much of the history of these eastern territories is dominated by this changing relationship, and will be dealt with in more detail in the next chapter. The same kind of problems of evidence that will be encountered in this question affects our definition of the boundaries of the state. For example, the Mutapa rulers themselves were obviously not averse to the exaggeration of their power: they frequently made the unlikely claim that they ruled the Torwa state in the south-west of the Plateau. Their modern descendants and associates such as the medium of the Mutota *mhondoro* spirit have also made some sweeping claims concerning Mutapa power in the past, and even the medium of another dynasty's spirit, influenced by the Mutota medium, might back up these claims.[5] As for the Portuguese, from a very early date they saw the advantage in using the power of the Mutapa, the strongest ruler in the north, to gain access to the wealth of all the northern Shona, and they were still using their treaties with the Mutapa to this end in the 1890s. They were therefore hardly likely to underestimate the power of the Mutapa.

When therefore we have the claim of the *mhondoro* medium of Mutota that the land called Guruwe under the *soko/wafawanaka* Nhova-Chingowo dynasty was subject to the Mutapa, when Bocarro agrees and when even the Chingowo *mhondoro* medium, a neighbour and inferior of the Mutota medium, backs this up,[6] this still does not prove that Guruwe was tributary to the Mutapa, let alone part of the state, when a separate Chingowo tradition claims that Chingowo was independent.[7] Obviously, all of these claims for and against Chingowo's independence are biased, and it is obvious, given Guruwe's location just over the Umvukwe range from the Mutapa state, that it very probably was tributary to the

Mutapa at some time, but we have no definite evidence. When we apply this kind of test to the available evidence, the Mutapa state itself turns out to be much smaller than the old, hazy claims of 'empire', but still of fair size.

The boundaries appear to have run from the Tsatse river down to the Mazoe, down the Mazoe-Ruenya to the Zambezi, up the Zambezi to the Hunyani, Dande, and Shinje rivers, and then along the Umvukwe range to the Tsatse source. Within this area, there is no serious doubt about the supremacy of the Mutapa. Outside it, the Mutapa may very well have collected tribute or even incorporated land into the state, and this is especially true of the south. The land between the Mazoe and Nyadiri seems to have been closely associated with the Mutapa state, since the Nyandoro, Nyajina, and Changamire dynasties ruling there in the seventeenth century were linked with the Tavara, Nyombwe, and other peoples within the state, and the Changamire was at one time a powerful subordinate of the Mutapa. Indeed, the Mukombwe figure himself allocated lands across the Mazoe when he set up the territory of Tsokoto. So, although the Mazoe river forms a convenient southern boundary to the state, it would be misleading to think of it as a rigid limit. We should rather think of it as a line from which Mutapa power advanced to the south from time to time. Similarly, whereas the Zambezi was such a major barrier that the Mutapas called it *mhandu* or *pandu* (the enemy), because it limited their power,[8] it does not follow that the Mutapa grip on its southern bank was absolute: quite apart from the Dima revolt mentioned in Chapter 2, it seems possible that the Mutapa conquered the lands around the site of Tete only shortly before the Portuguese established themselves there, some time after 1540.[9]

Having defined the limits of the Mutapa state as clearly as we can, we must now get the environment clearly in mind. The state as a whole was made up of a segment of the Plateau and a wide area of the Zambezi valley lowlands. On the map, the lowlands dominate because of their greater area, twice that of the Plateau segment, which nevertheless was far more important. Guarded on the west and north by the Umvukwe and Mavuradonha ranges, most of this area is over 3,000 feet in altitude, most of it gets more than 32 inches of rain a year, it is colder, and on the whole the soil types are superior to those of the valley. In some parts of the valley, notably the lower Ruya and lower Mazoe rivers, the soil was unable to hold water, and thus there were dryland conditions even where major rivers existed. On a grand scale, this was true of

the entire lower Zambezi valley. Under such conditions, the people of the lowlands were even more dependent upon such non-agricultural stand-bys as gold-washing, but even here the environment favoured those of the Plateau, for it was in the upper Ruya and Mazoe valleys that most of the gold in the state was found, and it was this favoured heartland of the state that was known as Mukaranga.

As for the capital of the state, it should be borne in mind that under the conditions of the Shona environment and economy it was probably difficult to keep an establishment on the scale of the Mutapa capitals, described in the last chapter, on the same spot for a long period. It would probably be more sensible to think of a capital area rather than a capital site, and in view of the environmental situation described above the most obvious place for the Mutapa capital — and that supported by the bulk of the documentary evidence — was on the Plateau, probably in the upper Ruya valley where the Zvongombe complex of ruins was sited, not far from Fura mountain and the *feira* of Masapa. There could have been several capitals in this area in the three centuries before the Mutapas lost the Plateau area.

At this point, the small cluster of non-granitic *zimbabwe* above and below the Zambezi escarpment west of the Mavuradonha mountains should be put in perspective. They obviously belong to the Zimbabwe-Khami culture overall, but they have not been securely dated. The fact that they are not made of granite makes them difficult to classify by style, and even what is apparently a Portuguese addition to Ruswingo we Kasekete is difficult to date precisely.[10] A few Portuguese documents refer to stone buildings in the Zambezi valley being used as a capital by the Mutapa, in 1635 and 1667, and possibly in 1512.[11] Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to follow the traditions of the *mhondoro* medium of Mutota and his political superior Chief Kasekete Hwete. These traditions give exact locations of events and royal sites for three hundred years of Mutapa history, but it is noticeable and highly suspicious that all these locations are within forty miles of the homes of the informants.[12] Given the fact that the best land of the state, as well as almost all the gold, was on the other side of the Mavuradonha and Umvukwe ranges on the Plateau, it is most unlikely that the centre of the state was in the Zambezi valley until relatively late. The non-granite buildings in the valley were probably used occasionally, especially during times of civil war — the documentary references were referring to such times — or as

burial places; but economic and political logic, as well as such accounts as that of Assumpçao, suggest that until the eighteenth century the capital of the Mutapa state was in the Plateau segment near the gold-mines of the upper Ruya and Mazoe valleys.[13]

The fourth dimension of the state is that of time. We shall see that the lowland component of the state lasted well into the mid-nineteenth century as an organized body, that the entire state remained intact in territory until the eighteenth century, and that it lasted as a whole for at least four centuries. But whereas we know from Portuguese documents that it was already in existence by the end of the fifteenth century, we have seen that the well-known tradition of Mutota leading his followers up from Zimbabwe to re-establish an already existing state in the north, *c.*1425-50, is a myth: Mutota is only the latest 'founding figure' in the Mutapa tradition, which is itself only one of several such traditions. The most that these traditions tell us is that the Mutapa dynasty, like most of its neighbours, dates back approximately to the period of the expansion of the Zimbabwe culture from the south, already described as the expansion of the Karanga.

ii. The internal politics of the state before 1663

We have located the state in time and place and in Chapter 2 we saw it filled with its inhabitants. The last chapter showed how it worked on both the small and the larger scale, with the power of the Mutapa's forces supported by tribute in grain and gold and taxes and duties. But to show how this state developed in a political sense before 1663, except in its relations with the Portuguese, is not easy. This is because the Portuguese documents are mainly concerned with Shona-Portuguese relations, naturally enough, and therefore give few insights on the course of Mutapa politics themselves; on the other hand traditions are of little use for the period before the mid-seventeenth century as far as historical facts are concerned. Take, for example, the Mutapa dynastic succession itself. It has already been pointed out that we have no definite connections between Mutapa ruler-lists and the names given by the Portuguese any earlier than Mutapa Mavura, 1629-52, except in the writings of D.P. Abraham. These writings link the ruler-list commonly offered by Mutapa informants, a list of single names, with the names in the documents to produce a list of *double* names for each ruler, with supporting details of their lives and places of residence and burial. But there are several reasons why it is difficult

to accept these at their face value. For one thing, much of Abraham's account is taken up with the legend and myth of Mutota and Matope Nebedza and their relations, and as the main sources cited by Abraham were the medium of the Mutota *mhondoro* spirit and his political superior, Chief Kasekete Hwete, it follows that these had certain biases. Moreover, the post-Matope, pre-Mavura accounts given by Abraham are short, inconsistent in their early and later versions, contain names that do not appear in traditions collected from the same basic group of informants by other researchers and have a strong regional bias in favour of the western Chidima and Dande area. In addition, it is difficult to see why it is only Abraham's informants' ruler-list, out of a total of five collected in the same area at more or less the same time, that gives second names for each ruler that correspond to those in the documents.[14] Thus, although the Mutapa-descended dynasties in western Chidima and Dande do preserve a ruler-list (Mutota, Matope, Nyahuma, Chikuyo, Chivere, Nogomo, and Mavura), which corresponds to the documents' proof that there *was* a Mutapa dynasty as far back as the fifteenth century, it is difficult to link any of these to any specific Mutapa mentioned by the Portuguese before Mavura.

Before going on to follow the history of the state from 1500 to 1700, it is worth noting how the Tavara and early Karanga adjusted to the rise of the Mutapa state. The Tavara of the Zambezi valley all apparently accepted Mutapa rule without too much trouble. Matsiwu's *shava* line kept a tradition of having exchanged totems with their conquerors, apparently a face-saving device.[15] The Dzivaguru cult of the Tavara apparently remained influential over a wide area.[16] The Karuva cult of Choma, also known as Chikara or *mbuya* after the female aspect of the cult, flourished at the grove called Nhenhene, in later centuries, but in the early seventeenth century the *mbuya* of Choma was known as 'chief major-domo' and was responsible for the selection of the Mutapa's senior wife and thus for the person chiefly responsible for Portuguese-Mutapa relations, so the Chikara may not have been a religious figure at that time.[17] In the 1750s the non-Mutapa origins of Chikara and the war between him and the Mutapa were remembered, and Chikara was a major spirit.[18] In the 1860s the female aspect of Chikara was remembered as a leader of resistance to Matope Nyanhehwe.[19] It seems probable that the role of the Karuva-Chikara cult of Choma changed from time to time, but it

is significant that the Tavara of central Chidima managed to retain their power for such a long time.

Other Tavara, notably those of the Matope *nguruve* dynasty on the Plateau, adapted to changing circumstances through marriage with the conquerors. Zanzangara, founder of this line, married into the Nyombwe dynasty and then again into the Mutapa line, so that by 1904 this Tavara dynasty claimed descent from Mutota.[20] The Karanga Nyombwe dynasty itself claimed descent from the Mutapa in the female line.[21] A surprising number of important posts in the seventeenth-century Mutapa state were held by these Tavara and other Karanga. The *nhari* Nyandoro ruler of Hondosaka had the position of Mukomohasha, the 'captain-general' of the state, the Nhova or Chingowo of Guruwe was said to be the Mutapa's *sekuru* and musician, a 'very great lord', and the Mangwende of Matandandura near Chikova was the 'chief wizard'. These holders of ritual positions were all some distance from the heart of the state, and they were not required to attend the annual celebration of the new moon in May.[22]

We have already seen that there were several Karanga centres in the north that were independent of the *nzou-samanyanga* Mutapa dynasty, and it has been suggested that the rise to supremacy of the Mutapa was a gradual process rather than a sudden one. One of these Karanga centres was that of the *moyo* Chimanda dynasty, and another was that of the Nyombwe under Nyabapa, who were said to have originally had the *moyo* totem. It is therefore possible that the Changamire *moyo* dynasty had its origins among these *moyo* contemporaries of the original Mutapa settlement, and was absorbed into the Mutapa state structure. The first recorded Changamire was, before *c.*1490, 'a favourite of the King who was a great lord in his kingdom and who ruled the whole kingdom and this way acquired many people'. Forced to revolt against the Mutapa, the Changamire 'made himself king and all obeyed him and he reigned peacefully for four years'. After *c.*1494 the Mutapa dynasty regained control but the Changamire dynasty carried on the fight until at least 1512, with aid from the Torwa dynasty in the south of the plateau.[23]

This ultimately unsuccessful revolt by the first known Changamire against the Mutapas Mukombero and Chisamarengu has given rise to a number of misconceptions in various earlier works. Firstly, whatever the original derivation of the name Changamire in the fifteenth century there is no evidence to show that it came from any Arabic influence of any kind: the informant of Alcáçova

in 1506 was interpreting a Shona name in a partly Arabic-speaking environment at Sofala in which such Arabic words as *amir* were known, and making his own connection between the two, but in fact the suffix *-mire* occurs in other Shona names, such as Pasipamire. Secondly, the attempts of Shona informants from the mid-eighteenth century to the present to connect the Changamire dynasty to the Mutapa dynasty have been thoroughly inconsistent and were probably rooted in a desire to link the two most famous and recent Shona states by blood and marriage and in the common Shona belief that, where two totems are similar, they *must* have a common origin: the Changamire totem *moyo/mhondizvo*, interpreted as the heart of the ox, corresponds to *one* of the Mutapa totems, *mhumba*, interpreted as the heart of the elephant.[24] Thirdly, no Portuguese document before the 1680s locates the Changamire dynasty in the south-west of the Plateau or anywhere outside the north-east, and no document suggests that the south-western state of 'Butua' centred on Khami and allied sites was ruled by anyone other than the Torwa dynasty before the 1680s. Thus it is certain that the Changamire dynasty did not found the Khami culture and that the Portuguese accounts of the Changamire conquest of the south-west from the 1690s onwards were not referring to any event of the 1490s.[25]

These conclusions are supported by the only other reference to the Changamire dynasty before the 1680s. In the 1540s the lateral trade route from the Mutapa state to Sofala, which had been important since at least the 1500s, was of considerable interest to both the Mutapa and the Portuguese.[26] Trade connections between the coast and the interior were so important that a ruler who controlled the route or the gold- and ivory-rich areas to which it gave access could make or break the prosperity and political importance of the port of Sofala and its Muslim and Portuguese traders within it. Thus in about 1547, the Changamire ruler having taken certain lands such as 'Quangane' that were rich in ivory, the Portuguese Captain Jorge Telo de Menezes wished to advance the interests of his Muslim agent, Joane, by controlling the ivory trade. He took the risky step of sending a force of Portuguese and bribes to inspire a revolt against the Changamire by his subjects. The danger was that if the move failed the port would be denied all contact with these rich areas by a vengeful Changamire, but it succeeded and he was driven out of the lands in question.[27] The document on which this is based gives no identifiable location of the event and the picture of Sofala's danger through a loss of

trade is exaggerated by its author's malice against Menezes; but in the context of the whole body of documents of that century it is difficult to believe that this was was anything but a minor affair somewhere on the road from Sofala to Mukaranga.

It must be stressed that both of these conflicts involving the Changamire resulted on the whole, in defeats for his line, and although the unusual nature of the dynasty's title makes it fairly certain that the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Changamires were related it is clear that the reports from the 1680s onwards of the obscurity and insignificance of the Changamire line before its rise to power in the last half of the seventeenth century are close to the truth. It is not certain where the dynasty was during these 137 years of silence. Changamire traditions that were collected in the 1890s and 1900s suggested on the whole that the dynasty rose to power in the central *moyo* nuclear area, but Conceição suggests that this would have been a relatively late development before the conquest of the south-west.[28] A tradition collected in the 1920s suggested a Changamire origin in the modern Mtoko area, and another in the Sena-speaking Tonga land of Rupire that was collected in the 1880s tended to support this, nevertheless the years 1547-1684 remain a mystery as far as the Changamire is concerned.[29]

Other discernible events in the history of the Mutapa state that do not primarily concern either the Portuguese or the Mutapa state's various attempts to dominate the way to the coast are rare indeed. There was the Mutapa's move towards the site of Tete some time around the 1530s, and also the war with the Lower Zambezi Tonga under Samungazi just over the Ruenya to the east after *c.*1550, but other important developments are difficult to identify. The suggestion of Abraham that there was a campaign by the Mutapa into the central Plateau bordering on Buhera in the 1530s-40s, based solely on the name of a Mutapa 'Munembire', is improbable, not only because 'Mbire' does not seem to have been used to describe this area before the eighteenth century, but because there is considerable doubt that there ever was a 'Mutapa Munembire'.[30]

iii. The Mutapa state and the Portuguese, 1505-1663

The Portuguese landed at the port of Sofala in 1505, but in a sense it could be said that their contact with the Mutapa state began in 1501, when Sancho de Toar's ship visited the port.[31] This visit almost certainly gave the Mutapa the first warning of the

changing balance of power in the Indian Ocean. The Portuguese impact on the Shona as a people was varied, but as far as the development of the Mutapa state was concerned it was delayed for almost a century and then took a particularly deadly form. The Portuguese settlement in the Mutapa state after the treaty of 1629 reduced the state to chaos in less than twenty years; and, although the Mutapa state survived, it was forced to undergo considerable changes, including a major resettlement of the Plateau segment and a shift in the location of the state's capital. In this section we will see how the Portuguese settlement came about.

Although the Mutapa state lay so far inland that its natural route to the sea ran down the Zambezi to Sena and then along the waterway to Quelimane, the Mutapa rulers of the early sixteenth century made quite extraordinary efforts to contact the Portuguese through the long overland route to Sofala. This suggests that they were not able to control the entire Quelimane route; the fact that there was the independent Roro state at the mouth of the Zambezi,[32] suggests that the Mutapa needed an alternative route to the sea to prevent economic blackmail by the Roro ruler. The Portuguese landed at Sofala in September 1505 and seized it in May 1506.[33] By February 1506 Alcáçova had already been given an account of the state of affairs inside the Mutapa state by informants who exaggerated the importance of the Mutapa by claiming that all the gold came from his state; this suggests that Mutapa agents were already at work in Sofala.[34] In May a trader from the Mutapa state arrived,[35] and in October another group of Karanga traders came to 'establish . . . peace and friendship'.[36] In 1511 the Mutapa was still claiming to be the owner of all the gold,[37] and it seems possible that the Portuguese exaggerations of Mutapa power were rooted not only in self-interest but in a deliberate attempt by the Mutapa in the 1500s to convince them of his strength.

The traveller António Fernandes travelled along the well established trade route from Sofala round the end of the Inyanga plateau to Mukaranga in *c.*1511, and Portuguese deserters and traders from Sofala were in the eastern Shona lands by at least 1528,[38] but the first permanent community of Portuguese inside the Mutapa state was reported only in 1541. The Mutapa, seeking to maintain good relations with the Portuguese, sent four Portuguese as an escort for his ambassador, and asked for an official representative of the Portuguese to be stationed within the state. Unless the escort of four represented the entire Portuguese community in the state, which seems unlikely, there must already have been a small group

present in the state.[39] Fernão de Proemça, the man selected to represent Portugal in the state, would therefore have been the first of the officials who were later known as 'Captains of the Gates', based at Masapa in the Mukaranga. These officials, although nominated by the Portuguese, received their authority from the Mutapa, had the title of 'great wife' of the Mutapa, and held their posts for life.[40] They were, therefore, in the position of subrulers of a *torwa* community within the state, like any other Shona community, though obviously the Portuguese control of the coast gave them a special importance.

It is difficult to deal with Mutapa-Portuguese relations in the sixteenth century without being influenced either by what the Portuguese wished to do at the time, or by what they actually did in the seventeenth century. The long-term intentions of the Portuguese towards the Mutapa state, or for that matter towards any other source of wealth, were never in doubt, although it is true that the Portuguese themselves often differed as to the means to be used to gain that wealth. One of the major causes of the death of Fr Gonçalo da Silveira in 1561 was the belief of many of the people of the Mutapa state that the Portuguese planned an invasion, and a leader of the Muslim community on the Zambezi went all the way to Moçambique not only to try to explain Silveira's death, but to try to find out the presumed Portuguese invasion plans.[41]

Silveira had arrived in the Mutapa state at the end of 1560, converting people as he went, and converted the Mutapa in January 1561. He continued until mid-March before he was killed on the orders of the Mutapa. Both the Portuguese and the Mutapa blamed the Muslims at the capital for the advice that led to the execution, and since both had an interest in doing so, we cannot now be sure that the accusations were just. It is quite possible that the *nganga* who influenced the Mutapa were not Muslims, but represented a faction within the state. Certainly it is odd that the hostility to Silveira did not extend to the Muslims' trade rivals, the Portuguese residents. These were allowed to carry on as usual, and were even able to rebuke the Mutapa with impunity.[42] The Mutapa almost immediately regretted the act,[43] accurately foreseeing what would follow: in 1569 the Portuguese drew up their justification for a conquest of the Mutapa state.[44]

Nevertheless, although the Portuguese planned a major invasion in the years following Silveira's death, the fact was that the state itself remained largely untouched. The fighting strength

built up by the Tonga ruler Samungazi in the years 1550-70, the natural barriers of the Zambezi valley drylands, the negotiating skill of the Mutapa, and perhaps the interests of the Portuguese community in the Mutapa state all combined to frustrate the invasion. So did the resistance of the people of Chikova. The massive expedition of Francisco Barreto reached Moçambique in 1570 but was diverted up the East African coast and did not reach Sena until the end of 1571.[45] Meanwhile, the Lower Zambezi Tonga revolt against the Mutapa, which had begun in *c.*1550, had now reached the point where both the Mutapa and the Portuguese were seriously inconvenienced by it. Barreto began to negotiate with the Mutapa, and at the same time set off into the Zambezi valley drylands to fight the Tonga. Drought and the Tonga weakened the expedition, and it turned back to Sena. The Mutapa sent an embassy agreeing to most of the Portuguese demands and agreeing to cede some mines in the Plateau segment of the state.[46] In this, the Mutapa was conceding the shadow rather than the substance; the mines were simply not amenable to full-scale exploitation with the technology available, as the Portuguese were to discover again and again. They were of value as an additional source of income to agriculturalists in the dry season, but they could not support a major mining effort.

The Portuguese, however, diverted their own efforts to Manyika and Teve. In 1574-5 Barreto's successor Homem embarked on campaigns in those lands which only weakened the Portuguese force further for no return in gold; the only one to benefit was the Mutapa.[47] By the time the Portuguese returned to the Zambezi at the end of 1575 the attitude of the Mutapa had changed; and he refused to concede the mines near Masapa in the heart of the state. Instead, the Portuguese were diverted into the Chikova area, next to the Zambezi. This area was basically non-Shona, and it is possible that the Mutapa was deliberately letting the burden of the Portuguese presence fall upon his less-favoured subjects. In the end, the Portuguese provoked a reaction by the local people that wiped them out.[48] By the 1580s the general situation within the state was much the same as it had been before Barreto's arrival, although the Tonga beyond the Ruenya were now tributary to the Portuguese rather than the Mutapa.[49]

In 1580 it might have been thought that the Mutapa state was safe from Portuguese aggression: the Portuguese continued to live inside the state, but they were under the control of the Captain of the Gates and thus subject to the Mutapa himself. Yet by 1607 the state, broken by civil war, was forced into a potentially disastrous treaty relationship with the Portuguese. If it was the basic nature of Portuguese expansionism to seek such advantages, it was the tension within African society that gave them the opportunity. Partly, the great Marave movement known as 'Zimba' was to blame, but a good deal of the responsibility lies with the Mutapa Gatsi Rusere, whose actions on some occasions appear so irrational that it may fairly be doubted whether he was entirely sane. On the other hand, after 1608 he himself partly restored the situation.

In the 1590s two of the Marave groups crossed the Zambezi and reached the goldfields in Mukaranga on the upper Ruya river. One, under Chikanda, settled on the Mutambu river near the Mutapa's court after attacking the Portuguese, and then offered to become tributary. The other seized lands on the Zambezi and then struck inland to the goldlands of the Ruya valley on the Plateau.[50] By 1601 they were close to the Mutapa's capital.[51] Gatsi Rusere sent a force against this second Marave group, under the command of his official the Nengomasha. Although the Nengomasha succeeded with Portuguese aid in driving back the Marave, Gatsi Rusere had him executed for failing to follow up the Marave group as it retired. This decision of Gatsi Rusere's, whether it was based on any rational policy or not, led to a major revolt within the state that was to weaken it in the face of Portuguese ambitions. The Nengomasha was an uncle of the Mutapa, and whether or not he was a member of the *nzou-samanyanga* dynasty itself, he had very considerable support within the state. One of his relatives, Chiraramuro, raised a rebellion in the Tavara country of the lower Mazoe. To make matters worse, the Marave under Chikanda rose, and although the Mukomohasha of the Mutapa state beseiged his stockade, he was unable to take it. Chikanda had previously attacked Portuguese traders, and so the Portuguese under Belchior de Araújo were ready to aid the Mutapa at his request; after Araújo joined the Mukomohasha, Chikanda's men pulled out.

After the fall of Chikanda's stockade, the Mutapa relaxed his previous ban on the carrying of firearms by the Portuguese. He had reason to do so, for the rebellion of his own people spread rapidly and he needed all the help he could get in a crisis, which was partly of his own making and which he was to make worse by his own actions. In fact, he did not automatically get Portuguese aid: he had to pay a high price in promises to get it, and it did not solve his problems. Portuguese aid drove Chiraramuro out

of the Tavara country, but after he was assassinated in his flight his place was taken by 'Matuzvianye', as his enemies called a former keeper of the cattle herds that were vital to the state's economy.[52] Matuzvianye soon had so much support in the centre of the state that he was widely recognized as a rival Mutapa. He himself held the mountains of Matarira, between the Mutapa's court and Masapa, while his subordinates held Chizinga mountain on the middle Mazoe, the lower Mazoe valley and a land called Nyembwe (possibly Nyombwe). By 1607 the Mutapa had virtually lost control of the Plateau segment of the state.

In desperation, Gatsi Rusere turned to the Portuguese, but found them none too keen to fight. When their interests had been threatened by the Tavara and Chizinga rebels' blockade of the trade routes, they had attacked these two places. But after the Chizinga group had been defeated, the Tavara leader made a local truce with the Portuguese while continuing his war against the Mutapa. Thus, when Gatsi Rusere called for help in 1607, the Portuguese refused to give it, and he had to threaten them before they would do so. Even then the Portuguese leader Diogo Simões Madeira extorted from the Mutapa a grant of all the mines in the state in return for support. With this aid, the Mutapa broke the revolt on the lower Mazoe, but Matuzvianye remained in control of the centre of the state. The 1607 treaty remained a dead letter for the moment, since neither the Portuguese nor the Mutapa had the resources to deal with the mines in question.

The next year, Gatsi Rusere displayed his irrational side once more. With the most important part of his state in rebellion, he was in no position to pursue what amounted to foreign adventure; but, claiming that the land of Barwe beyond the Ruenya was no longer paying tribute, he set out to conquer it. On the way through the Lower Zambezi Tonga country, which had been under the Mutapa prior to *c.*1550 but which was now technically in Portuguese territory, he killed the Samungazi ruler of the Tonga who was offering him tribute, claiming that he supported Matuzvianye. The result was a major war between the Tonga and the Barwe on the one hand and the Mutapa on the other in which he was badly beaten. Matuzvianye took advantage of this to strengthen his grip on the centre of the state, and advanced almost as far as Tete. Madeira drove him back, just in time to prevent the Mutapa from being cut off from the lands he still held in Chidima, to which he returned in 1609. Gatsi Rusere had very narrowly escaped being crushed between Matuzvianye and his eastern enemies.

In 1609 Gatsi Rusere's luck, determination, or sense of the possible changed for the better. Using Chidima as a base and Madeira's army as allies, he first regained control of the non-Shona area near Chikova, and then advanced on Mukaranga. At the Magidakuchena river he defeated Matuzvianye and advanced to recapture his capital. In spite of fierce resistance from Matuzvianye, the Mutapa took Matarira, and when his rival fled to Chizinga a contrived assassination ended the rebellion. From now on, Gatsi Rusere ruled a weakened state, and faced the renewed threat of Portuguese ambition strengthened by the promise of the 1607 treaty.[53]

Once he was reinstated in Mukaranga, Mutapa Gatsi Rusere's attitude to the Portuguese hardened. There was cause. Portuguese society both inside and outside the state was thoroughly lawless, and although this sometimes led to civil wars between the Portuguese that delayed the impact of their moves against the state, the state itself often suffered. Thus when Diogo Carvalho, who had already cheated the Mutapa of the cloth due to him, was attacked at Masapa by the remaining rebels of Chizinga, the Mutapa sent his new Nengomasha as protection. After six months the *curva* (the cloth traditionally paid to the Mutapa by each incoming Captain at Moçambique) had not been paid, and so Gatsi Rusere used his right to declare a *mupeto* and seize the goods of Portuguese traders in the state.[54] Carvalho treacherously attacked the Nengomasha who had been guarding him, and left the state. Meanwhile, Simões Madeira was supporting a rebellion against the Mutapa near Tete. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the Mutapa was hostile, but he was still prepared to cede the Chikova mines in return for his *curva*.

From 1609 to his death in 1624 Gatsi Rusere's policy towards the Portuguese fell into a pattern. He tried continually to collect his *curva* from six successive Captains of Moçambique, but in vain. The most that he received was an amount nearly equivalent to the *curva* from Simões Madeira in 1614. He was prepared to let the Portuguese seek silver at Chikova, well away from the centre of the state, but did his best to prevent them from getting a hold on the region. Thus when in 1615 the Portuguese at Chikova provoked a revolt by the local people, he went to war against them for a short while. Basically, the Chikova silver mines did not pay prolonged effort, but this did not stop the Portuguese from dreaming of an African Potosí. Gatsi Rusere also did his best to recover

the lands lost to the gradual advance of the *prazo*-holders around Tete. In 1616 he made use of the divisions within Portuguese society which led to the outlawing of Simões Madeira, and recovered most of the land up to Tete. Since these same divisions had led to the abandonment of Chikova, he had greatly strengthened his own position.[55] There were still revolts within the state, and he was justifiably suspicious of the intentions of the Portuguese.[56] By the end of his reign he was tightening up the etiquette at his court, and insisting that Portuguese visitors pay him full respects, which had not been required of them seventy years earlier.[57]

The Portuguese menace to the Mutapa state was delayed by the internal inefficiency to be expected of an empire that ran halfway round the world, and also by the rise of the Marave Karonga. The Marave attacked the centres of Tete and Sena, and hoped to overrun the Mutapa state, which by 1624 was in a state of civil war as Gatsi Rusere's sons contended for the Mutapa title.[58] We know nothing of the period 1624-7, but by 1627 Gatsi Rusere's son, Nyambu Kapararidze, was ruling. The lack of information on the situation in Mukaranga makes it difficult to understand what occurred in 1628. Portuguese pressures had very probably mounted since the 1623-4 civil wars, yet in 1628 there were only eight Portuguese in their main centre of Masapa. Similarly, no *curva* had yet been paid, yet when in 1628 it finally arrived the Mutapa took it and killed the ambassador who brought it, declaring a *mupeto* at the same time.[59] It was almost as though Kapararidze had inherited something of his father's tendency to make a rash decision, for although the *curva* had been so long delayed, this was an odd time to kill the man who brought it. Possibly Kapararidze, recognizing the increasing numbers and the long-term aims of the Portuguese, decided to bring matters to a head as soon as he could get the necessary finance in the shape of the *curva*. This entailed a certain amount of internal reorganization in the state, in as much as Kapararidze found it necessary to replace his father's old counsellors with younger ones of his own choosing.[60] But perhaps the crucial factor was that rebellion had broken out in the Portuguese *prazos* of the lower Zambezi among the Sena- and Lomwe-speaking peoples, and Kapararidze may have thought that his opportunity had come.[61]

In the event, the internal weakness of the state led to a renewed menace and shattering civil war. An uncle of the Mutapa, Mavura, was one of the several ambitious claimants to the title.

Mavura, with a shrewd understanding of the workings of Portuguese politics, allied himself to the Dominicans, and with their help he was nominated as the rival Mutapa. In December 1628 and May 1629 the armies of the Portuguese *prazo*-holders defeated Kapararidze's men, and after the second battle near Luanze some of the Karanga changed sides and supported Mavura. The civil war between the two Mutapas continued until at least 1652, the date of Mavura's death,[62] but in spite of some major victories by Kapararidze his house was gradually defeated and excluded from the succession. Whatever the original base of Mavura's power, it was so extended that ultimately all succeeding Mutapas were descended from him.

The price of Mavura's success nearly wrecked the state. After the battle in May 1629, a most damaging treaty was exacted.[63] Some of the clauses were not too serious: Gatsi Rusere's attempts to introduce a stricter court etiquette were revoked, Muslims were banned from the state, and Dominican missionaries were to have full freedom to preach. This hurt Mutapa pride, confirmed that the Muslims who were already very few in number were not to return, and offered a minor threat to Shona religion, but no more. Indeed, since the Muslim *xerife* who aided Mavura against Kapararidze was rewarded with the land of 'Entomboe', the clause seems to have been a dead letter from the start.[64] Others were important: most of the income due to the Mutapa from the Portuguese, including the *curva*, stopped, and he was himself expected to make considerable payments. But the most deadly clauses made the Mutapa a vassal of the King of Portugal, and allowed a great increase in the numbers of Portuguese, who were to have unrestricted access to the gold-mines and lands. These Portuguese were not to be accountable to the Mutapa's law for anything they did, but were to be under the Captain of the Gates, who was now no longer the Mutapa's subordinate, but an employee of the Portuguese crown, and virtually the Mutapa's superior. These latter clauses in theory set up a parallel government within the state, but since in practice the Portuguese authorities had no control over their subjects the result was that the Portuguese within the state were subject to no-one.

The results of the treaty over the next forty years were predictable, but it should be remembered that the treaty only made formal a process of colonization and exploitation that was general in all of the Portuguese-occupied parts of the Shona country and

the Zambezi valley at that time. We do not know how many Portuguese were involved in the scramble for the gold of the Mutapa state, but this is hardly relevant since the impact of each Portuguese was greatly increased by his attendant force of African troops. The *prazo* system dated back to the last quarter of the previous century, but it was at this time that it became firmly rooted, and it was at this time that many of the most famous figures of *prazo*-holder society of the seventeenth century arose. Such men as Sisnando Dias Bayão and António Lobo da Silva held vast lands and made vaster conquests in Shona society with their African armies. The Portuguese government was making elaborate plans for the exploitation of the Mutapa state, but it was the *prazo*-holders who carried out the exploitation in practice.[65]

The *prazo*-holders spread out across the country, putting up fortified stockades as bases for their armies. It was at this time that the construction of *feiras* reached its greatest extent, with these strongholds of trade and warfare being built well beyond the borders of the Mutapa state, on the Angwa and Umfuli rivers. They fought the Shona rulers, took their cattle and enslaved their people. They took as many mines as possible, and although the mines were not suited to intensive working, they did succeed in boosting their output in the first half of the seventeenth century — an increase that probably accelerated what was in any case an inevitable exhaustion of the surface deposits. Their methods were so deadly that whole areas were said to have been depopulated and rulers did their best to conceal the presence of gold for fear of the consequences if the Portuguese should learn of it. Moreover, the Portuguese fought among themselves, causing further unrest: the well-known Rimuka war was a case in point. They also encroached on the cloth trade that had previously been carried out by the rulers.[66]

Some of these *prazo*-holders obtained their grants from the Mutapa himself, others seized them directly, but in both cases the effect was of the creation of new political units. Some of these actually attracted followers from the older Shona dynasties, and this was a major cause of dissatisfaction with the Mutapa on the part of his subrulers.[67] One such new dynasty seems to have been the first Nyachuru dynasty, which ruled the land around the *feira* of Dambarare towards the end of the seventeenth century.[68]

It is against this background that we must see the political struggles of the Mutapa state. In 1631 the oppression of the Portuguese provoked a major revolt in the state led by the rightful Mutapa, Kapararidze, and this spread to the other areas affected by the Portuguese, Manyika and the lower Zambezi valley. This revolt was suppressed very quickly, but Kapararidze took refuge in the Marave territory across the river, and remained a constant threat to Mavura.[69] To some extent, the new Mutapa followed the usual policies of the Mutapa rulers: for example, he was reluctant to allow further concessions to the Portuguese at Chikova, and he did his best to get some sort of equivalent to the *curva*, even if he had to buy it himself, but he was in a very weak position *vis-à-vis* the Portuguese. They either ignored his complaints about the erosion of his authority or did nothing effective. He frequently called for military aid from them, and it was in his reign that the old capital was burned and his court took up a mobile existence. It was in his time, too, that the land of Bedza in the Zambezi valley assumed a greater importance and some of the stone buildings there may date from his reign.[70]

Mavura died in 1652, and was succeeded by his son, probably the man identified in traditions as Siti Kazurukamusapa. Like his father, he allied himself to the Dominicans and appears to have used the occasion of his baptism as Domingos as a test of the loyalty of his supporters.[71] He needed such a test, for in 1654 he faced a rebellion by his brother, which was put down only with Portuguese help. But by this time the Mutapa state had reached almost the lowest point in its fortunes. In 1663 the *prazo*-holders rose against the ruler, and he was killed, either by his own followers or burned alive by the Portuguese. Supported by the Dominicans and the Captain of Dambarare, and backed by a force from Moçambique, a 'Motata Cupiça' became Mutapa; he was known to the Portuguese as Afonso and was roughly equivalent to the Mukombwe of the Mutapa traditions.[72]

iv. The Mukombwean period, 1663-1704

The damage done to the Mutapa state up to 1663 was too great for it to be restored to its old condition. Yet it would be a great mistake to see it as having come to an end at this time. During the period 1663-1704, the years of the Mukombwe figure and his elder sons, the state was rebuilt into the form in which it continued substantially unaltered for a further one and a half centuries. This reconstruction involved the gradual loss of Mukaranga, with its valuable, well-watered grazing and arable land, and what was left of the gold resources, but it is remarkable that the essentially

lowland state of the post-Mukombwean period should have remained more or less intact in territory for so long and also have survived the incessant civil wars between Mukombwe's descendants. The fact that Mukombwe's descendants monopolized all political positions within the dynasty from his reign onwards is also a measure of the importance of this period.

Mutapa traditions from the 1750s onwards refer to Mukombwe as a person, and we will often do so in this chapter, but it should be remembered that no contemporary document names 'Mukombwe', and that it is possible that the name refers to two or more rulers whose actions produced the results that we now look back upon as 'Mukombwean'. In other words, when a tradition claims that certain land was allocated by the Mukombwe figure, it may well have been given out by one of the sons of the historical figure equivalent to 'Mukombwe', rather than the man himself. Historically, 'Mukombwe' seems to have been the 'Afonso', the brother of Mavura who was ruling by 1663 and who ruled until at least the early 1680s, perhaps as late as the early 1690s.[73]

When Mukombwe succeeded to the Mutapa title, the state was in a very bad shape, as indicated above. The murder of his predecessor was almost a symbol of this. Mukombwe was originally backed by the Portuguese, but even in 1667 it was noted that he was 'crafty and cunning' and by 1683 he was recognized as 'the most intelligent and capable Prince so far in that throne'. Mukombwe went some way towards reviving the state, and gradually assumed an anti-Portuguese stance, but it must be pointed out that it was the ruin in the state itself that drove out most of the *prazo*-holders. By 1667 Manoel Barretto was reporting widespread depopulation, partly due to plagues of locusts, partly due to the Mutapa and Portuguese civil wars, but mostly due to the conduct of the Portuguese themselves. The reluctance of both the people and the rulers to supply gold for the benefit of the Portuguese was depressing the entire mining economy, which required reasonably settled conditions in which to function.[74] Plagues further reduced the population in the 1670s, and it seems that even though the influence of the Portuguese in the state was out of all proportion to their numbers, there was a definite decrease in the Portuguese presence in the 1670s and 1680s. In 1678 the Portuguese population of the major centre of Dambarare had fallen to nothing.[75] Three years later, there were only 5 Portuguese in the centre of the state and another 26 at Tete and Chikova.[76] It seems

that the very destruction caused by the Portuguese had made it unprofitable for them to stay. The long-term plans of the Portuguese, as usual, involved conquest, but as often happened the effect of these plans was dissipated by Portugal's overall weakness in the Indian Ocean. Nevertheless, at the end of the 1680s there was a slight revival of Portuguese penetration in and around the state and more *feiras* were reoccupied or opened up.[77]

Mukombwe's response to this situation was governed by his initial weakness. Unlike the Ngezi ruler of Rimuka, who after the civil wars between the Portuguese stopped exporting gold and excluded the traders entirely,[78] Mukombwe apparently could not do without some Portuguese contacts, if only because he relied on them for support against his rivals. Moreover, his much larger territory with its more elaborate system of government was probably more dependent upon imported goods. Thus when in 1678 he was informed that it was intended to settle much of his state with settlers from Europe, he, or his interpreters, expressed 'content' and sent gold as a present to Lisbon; but meanwhile he was working in another direction.[79] By 1667 his influence had reached into the Tonga country beyond the Ruenya, Portuguese-ruled for nearly a century, and when the Tonga rose against their rulers they looked to Mukombwe as their superior. This Tonga resistance was still serious until it was put down with severity in 1672.[80]

The real test of Mukombwe's attitudes towards the Portuguese, however, concerned the Mutapa state proper. In 1673 yet another rumour of silver in the Chikova region aroused Portuguese interest. As was usual in Zambezi politics, the matter was complicated, with various divisions between the Portuguese government and the *prazo*-holders, and between the subrulers of Chikova and the Mutapa their overlord. João de Sousa Freire the Captain-General began to prepare for war in April, noting, as he did so, that 'in as much as the King deserves punishment so do those of our people who are to blame for such great ruin'. Mukombwe's response was immediate and, in some ways, revolutionary: 'infuriated by the unruly behaviour of the *moradores*' he killed six of them and declared war in his state, and at the same time he took the unprecedented step of appealing to another ruler for aid. Whereas his predecessor in the 1570s had been content to see Homem's army move off towards Teve and Manyika, and whereas the 1631 risings appear to have been unco-ordinated rebellions of the Mukaranga, Manyika, and lower Zambezi rulers and people, Mukombwe in

1673 deliberately appealed to the Chikanga ruler of Manyika for support. By July the Captain of Manyika had reported that: 'the Chicanga and other rulers in the area of that *feira* were getting people to help the Emperor [Mukombwe], a very unexpected resolution because they have not supported the Emperor for a long time, but the fact is that they all have reason to want us out of these Rivers and there is no doubt that our injustices have caused us to be in this predicament because of lack of good government....' The 1673 Mutapa-Manyika war against the Portuguese does not appear to have accomplished a great deal, and by 1676 a force from Goa had been sent to suppress the Shona, but it was important because it showed how far Mukombwe had progressed in only ten years.[81] It was hardly surprising that in 1675 he was being regarded with distrust and suspicion by the Portuguese,[82] or that in 1678 he pointedly failed to acknowledge himself as a vassal of the king of Portugal.[83] By 1682 the *prazos* were threatened with war by the Mutapa, and it is possible that, as in the late 1660s, he was encouraging the Tonga near Sena to rebel.[84] It is clear that between the 1660s and the 1680s the balance of power between the Mutapa and the Portuguese had altered, even though it had not reversed itself.

Internal politics in the state under Mukombwe appear to have been slightly more stable. Nothing more was heard of Kapararidze, who had still been regarded as a threat in 1652. In the 1660s the capital was still in the Zambezi valley, where Gatsi Rusere and Mavura had taken refuge during their civil wars, but by the 1690s it was once more in Mukaranga, two days' march from Masapa and twelve from Chikova. Nevertheless, according to a document of 1679, a son of Mavura, also named Phelipe and backed by the great *prazo*-holder Antonio Lobo da Silva, was ruling as Mutapa. If this document was genuine, then it seems that Mukombwe was briefly ejected from his capital by yet another Portuguese-backed claimant, but in any event he was back in power by 1683. The danger of civil war remained, however, and by the late 1680s the house of Gocha had become dangerously powerful: in 1687 the Gocha ruler went into rebellion, and by the 1690s he was excused attendance at the annual *mando* ceremony 'owing to his own greatness'.[85] On Mukombwe's death, the Mutapa title was taken by Nyakunembire, although his son Pedro Mhande had hoped to rule. Pedro had been regarded as heir-apparent by the Portuguese in Mukombwe's lifetime, but he obviously lacked support among the people as a whole, and the Portuguese did not try to support

him. It is therefore inaccurate to call Nyakunembire a usurper or to suppose that there was any real difference of policy between him and his brother Mukombwe. As Mutapa successions went, his was quite legitimate.[86]

Mukombwe's main accomplishment in the traditions was his resettlement of the Mutapa state's central area with new dynasties, and this seems to agree to some extent with the picture given by the documents of the Mutapa state as partly depopulated during his reign. There are some traditions that could relate to this period, although they have not been securely dated, involving groups which claim origins in the areas affected by the Portuguese and which moved to the south. Thus the Chimwoto or Mapungwana *mbizi* dynasty which is supposed to have entered the south-eastern highlands in the mid-seventeenth century has a traditional link with the Rimuka area that was affected by the wars between the *prazo*-holders.[87] Another group that claims in the course of its history to have passed through or near Rimuka was that of the *shiri* dynasties of Tonga descent led by Chasura and Chirwa. These had settled on the upper Devure and Nyazwidzi south and west of Buhera by the mid-eighteenth century and they too may have moved at about the time of Mukombwe.[88] Another dynasty that may have moved at this time was that of Mangwende. As mentioned above, at the beginning of the century it was established in Matandandura near Chikova in the Zambezi valley, but by about the mid-eighteenth century it had shifted to Matukutu south of the Pote river, on the southern fringes of the state.[89] According to Chanaiwa, who was using an improbably short genealogy, the Mangwende dynasty was allied to Kapararidze, which would explain the move.[90] If these traditions of movements away from the Mutapa state and its neighbours are not too securely dated to Mukombwe's period, they do at least tally with the picture of seventeenth-century depopulation and disturbance in the Mutapa state.

Such a picture of depopulation given by the Portuguese can be exaggerated. Certainly very large groups of people may well have left their homes and gone into exile, but it does not follow that this was a permanent move. We know from the nineteenth century, when Nguni and European forces attacked the Shona at various times, that Shona groups would disperse, only to return at a later date.[91] Nevertheless, there are strong traditions in most of Mukaranga that Mukombwe reallocated a great deal of land to certain dynasties, some of them immigrants from the Budya area,

which, being close to the *feira* of Luanze, was very probably subject to its own Portuguese pressures. Given the nature of traditions about Mukombwe, these movements may very well have occurred in the reigns of his sons, as pointed out above, and in at least one case it was said that it was the *mhondoro* spirit of Mukombwe, rather than the man, who allocated land to one group;[92] but generally the traditions of Mukombwe as the *goveranyika* (land-giver) agree with what is known of the situation in the late seventeenth century.[93]

Some of the land grants by Mukombwe may have been made to his relatives, but if this was so, then they were forced to disavow the fact. Mukombwe was ruling after a century of civil war, and his house came to dominate the Mutapa succession only after the house of Kapararidze and his own brothers were excluded in one way or another. It seems very likely that the lands which he was allocating on such a generous scale had belonged to these rival houses and their followers, so that in effect they were being deprived of the economic basis for a successful revolt against him. All of those who received land from him were members of dynasties other than the Mutapa, and since they owed their land to him it was less likely that they would support any rival. In the end, of course, these new dynasties became independent, but it seems that this was a consequence of the gradual economic weakening of the state throughout the eighteenth century. One can criticize Mukombwe's policy only with the benefit of hindsight.

The land of Romba on the middle Ruya had been under a dynasty called Nyamakarenga in the first part of the century, but Mukombwe gave it to the Magarenehwe *tembo* line. As mentioned above, the 'Mukombwe' of this tradition could have been one of a number of historical persons, and it is noticeable that Gupo, a son or grandson of Mukombwe, was said to have allocated the dynasty's official head-dress. As was also mentioned in Chapter 2, this line could have been a branch of the main Mutapa dynasty that changed the meaning of its totem rather than the totem itself.[94] West of Masapa and Mount Fura the land of Bvuma went to the *soko/murehwa* Madziwa dynasty. *Soko/murehwa* totems were fairly common in the north of the plateau, and there is no suggestion that the Madziwa dynasty came from outside the state, except as part of the original Karanga movement from 'Guruuswa'.[95] The same was true of the Nembire *soko/vudzijena* house that was given the Gore or Mbire II area on the upper Ruya, not far from the Zvongombe *zimbabwe*. The history of this group has been confused by the fact that it gave rise to the much larger and more famous Svosve *soko/vudzijena-mhondizvo* dynasty at Mbire III in the centre of the southern Zambezian plateau. It appears in fact to have been a part of the original 'Guruuswa' movement, possibly associated with the *soko* Chingowo dynasty in Guruwe across the Umvukwe range, but to have had a minor status until Mukombwe granted it the land.[96]

If these grants mentioned above probably involved dynasties which already belonged to the Mutapa state and which simply gained greater autonomy, there is fairly strong evidence that the Mukombwe figure made use of the sizeable immigration of peoples from outside the state. These were the *shumba* dynasties from Budya, who moved from east to west across the Plateau, and some of which were settled by Mukombwe on the upper Ruya. It has already been suggested that pressures from the Portuguese in the *feira* of Luanze might have led to this series of moves, but it should be pointed out that they appear to have carried out their moves at different times and that there was no single migration, but a number of moves by independent groups. One party moved from the Budya area right over to the Urungwe plateau, drove out the Mbara and founded the *shumba/nechinanga* Nematombo dynasty. This move probably occurred fairly early, since the Mbara were involved, and the link in the Nematombo tradition with the Makope dynasty is confirmed by Makope traditions. But in any case, the Nematombo group settled well outside the Mutapa state in the area controlled by the Nyamapfeka dynasty.[97] Another group that might have been connected with this general movement was the Mbare *shumba/gurundoro* dynasty that was established on the Makabusi river near the Mazoe headwaters, but there are so far no traditions from this dynasty.[98]

Of the three *shumba* dynasties that moved into the Mutapa state, the northernmost was the *shumba/nechinanga* group that was allocated the territory of Wedza by Mukombwe, and thus gained the title of Nowedza. This was a small territory on the upper Ruya.[99] Further south, between the upper reaches of the Ruya and the Umvukwe range, the Makope *shumba/nechinanga* dynasty settled, though its traditions are not so definite that it was Mukombwe who allocated the land. Indeed, one version claims that it was the Mukombwe *mhondoro* spirit that did so, while another claimed that the founder of the dynasty died in the Matema wars, which are fairly securely dated to the mid-eighteenth century.[100] The third dynasty, that of the later Nyachuru, appears to

have arrived in the upper Mazoe valley much later, and in any case this area was apparently outside the state.[101] In all, then, there were five or six dynasties within the heart of Mutapa state that claimed to have been allocated by Mukombwe, and whether he was the historical Mukombwe of the 1670s and 1680s or an amalgam of his sons, the circumstances of Mutapa politics in their period appear to confirm the picture given by the traditions of a major reorganization of the old centre of the state.

The third major concern of Mukombwe was the revival of the Changamire dynasty. This, it will be recalled, had last been heard of in the 1540s when it was defeated by a Shona-Portuguese alliance, having made an almost successful attempt to take over the state itself in the 1490s. The story of the rise of the Changamire dynasty belongs in its fullest version to Chapter 7, for it affects the construction of the basis of the Changamire state in the eighteenth century, but here we shall deal with it from the viewpoint of the Mutapa dynasty. The original Changamire of the 1490s had been a subordinate of the Mutapa, and the same was true of the Changamire of the 1680s. He arose to power as a keeper of the Mutapa's cattle herds, and was granted land on the borders of the state in the reign of Mukombwe. Traditions show that this area was most probably the central *moyo* nuclear area between the Mazoe and the Nyadiri rivers, a region dominated by the people of the *moyo* and other totems who were known as 'Rozvi', a term which originally referred to followers of the seventeenth-century Changamire. Included within this area were the *nhari*-totem descendants of the Mukomohasha dynasty of the lower Ruya; traditions show that this dynasty was driven out by the Nyawusengwa *nzou-samanyanga* and associates, while Bocarro shows that this must have occurred after the 1630s. One part of this *nhari* group founded the Chitsungo dynasty in Fungwe, while the other went south-west, to become an important part of the Rozvi system of contacts in the centre of the plateau. Thus, if the *nhari*-Rozvi links went back to the seventeenth century, the Changamire rising of the late seventeenth century may have involved the lands north of the Mazoe, as well as the *moyo* nuclear area.[102]

The early accounts of the origins of the Changamire rising were varied. The Portuguese originally saw Changamire as a rebel against the Mutapa: in 1688 Manoel Vaz said that he was a pretender to the throne of the Mutapa.[103] As the success of his conquest of the Torwa state in the south-west became apparent, so they named ambition as being his main driving force.[104] After

their own defeat by the Changamire in the 1690s, the Portuguese were frank in recognizing the extent to which their own actions had led to this situation.[105] The truth probably involves all three factors, but in addition it must be shown how the Changamire's interests developed in terms of territory. In 1684 Caetano de Mello de Castro reported that the Changamire, who was expected to attack Manyika and 'to take over everything', was located between Mukaranga and Manyika, but closer to Manyika. This suggests the *moyo* nuclear area described above, and when Mello de Castro organized an army to fight the Changamire, it met him in Maungwe. Again, in 1694 the Changamire's main strength was in Maungwe, and it was after this that he devoted his energies to attacking the Portuguese in Manyika.[106] An eighteenth-century tradition collected in Manyika blamed the Captain of Manyika for provoking the 1694-5 war with the Changamire, to whom he had been tributary.[107] This was rather a localized explanation, but with the foregoing it does suggest very strongly that the Changamire dynasty had a special interest in the Manyika and Maungwe area as well as in its homeland bordering the Mutapa state. Add to this the interest it acquired when it conquered the Torwa state in the south-west, probably in the 1680s, and it can be seen that the Mutapa state was only one of several spheres of action as far as the Changamire was concerned. With this in mind, we can review the events as they occurred.

The rise of the Changamire occurred when the Mutapa state was very gradually recovering from the disastrous Portuguese occupation, and it seems likely that it was stimulated by the attempts of the Portuguese to revive their occupation along the lines suggested by Manoel Barretto.[108] Certainly Manoel Vaz called him the fatal enemy of the Portuguese nation.[109] At the same time, Mukombwe is credited in tradition with making a major move in the *moyo* nuclear area. He is said to have given the territory of Tsokoto, across the middle Mazoe river from the centre of the state, to a wife, the mother of his elder son Nyenyedzi.[110] The position of Nyenyedzi in the Mutapa genealogy is far from clear, but the establishment of one of Mukombwe's sons so close to the original base of the Changamire seems to have been an aggressive move.[111] It is noticeable that Mukombwe made a major attack on the Changamire, just after his battle with the Portuguese in Maungwe in 1684, and was soundly defeated.[112] It seems possible, therefore, that at the same time that the Changamire was working against the Portuguese in Maungwe and conquering the Torwa state in the

south-west, he was facing a threat from Mukombwe in his home area. In the event, Mukombwe's threat ended with his defeat, and his death before 1693 ended the hostility between the two dynasties.

Historians have often regarded the Mutapas of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as puppets of the Portuguese, and have interpreted the Changamire campaigns of the 1690s as the historical events that led to the decline of the Mutapa state and its relegation to the lowlands of the Zambezi valley. In doing so, they have been telescoping events. We have already seen how and why Mutapa Mavura became influenced by the Portuguese to the extent that he did, but we have seen that, however his reign began, Mutapa Mukombwe did not remain a 'puppet'. It would be difficult to argue that his successor Nyakunembire was a 'puppet', as the account below will show. Nor did very many later Mutapas fall into this category. It is true that the Mutapa state did lose control of the Plateau segment in the end, and we have seen how and to some extent why this occurred. But this was the result of an internal process of Mutapa history, not of the Changamire wars. Indeed, we will see that the Changamire was only involved with the Mutapa state twice, and then for very brief periods.

As mentioned earlier, there was a revival of Portuguese activity in and around the Mutapa state in the 1690s. We have also seen that during Mukombwe's reign the Mutapa state as a body was less and less inclined to tolerate this activity. Mukombwe's successor Nyakunembire seems to have continued this policy. By 1693 he was prepared to turn for help to his predecessor's enemy and former subject, Changamire. A Rozvi force attacked the *feira* of Dambarare in November 1693, and killed all the Portuguese there. It then continued into the centre of the state, and destroyed the *feira* of Masapa, which had been abandoned by the Portuguese after the failure of an attempted counterblow against the person of the Mutapa. All the other Portuguese in the north of the Plateau fled from their *feiras* without a fight on hearing this news.[113] For a short time the lands of Tete were threatened by the forces of Changamire and Nyakunembire.[114] But this alliance between the old and the new dynasties was very short-lived. Changamire retired almost at once, leaving no more than eight men to defend the Mutapa. Nyakunembire was left to face the future on his own.[115]

The Mutapa state now entered a period of incessant civil war, which lasted until at least 1711, and it was in this way that the Mukombwean period came to an end. At the end of this time, the

state had taken up the form in which it was to continue for a century and a half, largely as a result of this continual civil war rather than of the two Changamire raids. The wars began when Mukombwe's sons, Pedro Mhande and Manoel Chirimbe, decided to seize the Mutapa title for themselves. It will be recalled that the Portuguese had failed to support them on their father's death, and in late 1693 they were in exile in Manyika. Returning to the Zambezi valley, they prepared their campaign. The Portuguese of Sena were diverted by a local rising, the Portuguese of Tete refused at first to help, and Pedro's force was weakened by the Lower Zambezi Tonga, but with the help of a *prazo*-holder he managed to defeat a force sent by Nyakunembire to recover the *prazo*. Aided by the *prazo*-holder and the Mukomohasha of the dynasty — a position now held by a new lineage — he struck into the Plateau, cut off Nyakunembire from the south and, with further Portuguese aid, forced the Mutapa out of the state and into exile with the Changamire.[116]

During his campaign, Pedro Mhande had gained the support of the leader of the Gocha house which had been fighting his father in 1687, and his closeness with his brother Manoel Chirimbe who succeeded him in 1698 suggests that from 1694 onwards there was for a while a fairly strong interest group that even survived his own death. It is, therefore, significant that although the Portuguese could have returned to the Mutapa state after Nyakunembire's expulsion, because the Changamire forces were then occupied with the war in Manyika and later with the succession struggle within the Changamire dynasty in 1696, they did not do so. Pedro Mhande was suspected of opposing a renewed Portuguese interest in the silver of Chikova, and although the main reason for the permanent Portuguese abandonment of their *feiras* was the tremendous reputation of the Changamire, a secondary reason was the opposition of some of the Mutapas and the civil wars of this period.[117]

After 1698, any stability that may have been reviving in the state broke down for at least thirteen years, during which the Mukombwean period ended. During this period, nearly every imaginable faction in the Mutapa dynasty made an attempt on the title, and many succeeded. But hardly any contender lasted for more than a year or two, whether supported by the Portuguese or Changamire or operating on his own. Consequently, no ruler had the time to put a policy into action before he was faced with the assault of his successor. Thus Mutapa Manoel Chirimbe was soon

succeeded by João Dangwarangwa, but this new ruler did not last long before a rival called in the forces of the new Changamire, who had emerged from the succession struggle of 1696. This succession struggle had enabled the Mutapa dynasty to go on squabbling in peace, but the new Changamire was by 1702 in a position to send a force the considerable distance to the Mutapa state. The Mutapa leader who sought Changamire support was Samutumbu, probably a son of Mukombwe. He deposed João Dangwarangwa with the help of a Rozvi force, and a Rozvi leader remained in the area for a while, but the Mutapa state remained under Rozvi control for only two years. In the first place, Samutumbu experienced economic pressures, because the price of Changamire support was the severing of contact with the Portuguese. Even at this late date trade was of importance to the state, and Samutumbu began gradually to resume contact with the Portuguese. A new *capitão-mor* came to the barracks at his court, but before long new conflict arose. Another member of the dynasty, Gende, approached the Portuguese at Tete, and although Samutumbu won the battle that resulted he died shortly afterwards. Thus ended the very brief renaissance of Changamire influence in the state.[118]

The year 1704 is probably as good a date as any in which to regard the Mukombwean period as having ended. Obviously, the reconstruction of the state described above was a gradual process, and was not complete by that date. But the second Changamire invasion of the north appears to have been the last, and it is in the light of this that we must decide the extent to which the Mukombwe figure's reorganization of the state was a matter of policy or expediency. Although in 1719 the Viceroy was claiming that the Changamire and a lot of minor rulers nearly always killed the Mutapas as they were installed, his information appears to have been obsolete and to have been based on the situation in the decade 1693-1704.[119] Certainly there does not seem to have been any specific case of Rozvi intervention in the state after 1704. Indeed, there is little evidence that even the Plateau segment of the state was under effective Changamire control. For example, the Nyachuru *zungu* dynasty established around the *feira* of Dambarare had not been disturbed by the Changamire raid of 1693. On the contrary, the Nyachuru had been formally recognized as a subordinate ruler by the Rozvi. Yet when another party of *shumba*-totem Budya arrived in the upper Mazoe valley and their leader Mutsahuni killed the leaders of the *zungu* dynasty to take their land and

title for himself, there was apparently no move by the Changamire to avenge this, nor were any further Nyachuru rulers of the new dynasty appointed by the Rozvi. Indeed, if anyone legalized this conquest, it appears to have been the Mukombwe figure and the Chingowo dynasty of Guruwe.[120] There *was* a Rozvi presence in the south of the Mutapa state, but this did not function as a representative of the Changamire. During a civil war in the Rozvi state, a Rozvi force came north and settled under the Makope *shumba*-totem dynasty on the upper Ruya. The Rozvi had a considerable reputation as soldiers, and in wars involving the Mutapa house of Mupunzagutu — in *c.*1704-10 or *c.*1735-59 — and in the mid-century Matema wars of the *dziva* people, this Rozvi group under the Negomo dynasty gained control of the lands between the upper Ruya and the Tsatse and became independent. But there is no evidence that this dynasty ever did anything on behalf of the Changamire. In spite of renewed consciousness of Rozvi identity in recent years, it seems that the Negomo dynasty at one time abandoned its praise name of *mhondizvo* and took the local *shumba*-clan praise name of *nematombo*, and began to be known as Zezuru rather than Rozvi.[121]

Since, therefore, the influence of the Changamire dynasty on the Mutapa state was restricted to two rather brief episodes, it follows that the Mukombwean 'reconstruction' was largely an internal matter as far as the Mutapa state was concerned. Obviously, it is possible that the resettlement of the Plateau segment of the state was simply a haphazard result of the disruption of the seventeenth century, and that the dynasties which appeared at this time simply took advantage of the Mutapa's name to legitimize their actions. Yet, we have already seen how convenient this series of land-grants, to dynasties which were separate from the Mutapa dynasty, could have been to the Mukombwe figure and his descendants in their struggle for political power in the civil wars. The fact that the Mutapa Mupunzagutu was remembered as far south as the Tsatse suggests that the people of the Plateau were not so remote from the wars of the new state in the Zambezi valley as might be supposed. The granting away of the Plateau lands by the Mukombwe may have been the price of victory in the valley. We have also seen the varying relationships between the Mukombwe figure and his successors and the Portuguese. Neither during this period nor in the following century and a half did the Mutapa dynasty deserve the name of Portuguese puppet that it has been given. The evidence is naturally inconclusive, but it appears that the

Mukombwean period does give us a remarkable picture of partial recovery in the face of adverse conditions.

v. The Mutapa state under the Boroma and Nyamhandu houses, 1704-1868

Between 1704 and 1710 the state was shaken by further civil wars. Gende was succeeded by Mupunzagutu, Mupunzagutu by Gupo, Gupo by Sakapio, and Sakapio by João Nyamhandu. Until João Nyamhandu came to power, most of these Mutapas ruled for only a year, and the Portuguese did not regard them as true Mutapas.[122] Nevertheless, it was at this time that the main political issue of the next 150 years took shape, as far as the internal politics of the Mutapas were concerned. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the history of the later Mutapa state was seen as a struggle between the Boroma and Nyamhandu houses, and although this view was an over-simplification, it was not too far from the truth. The first Boroma seems to have been one of the claimants to the Mutapa title in the civil wars of *c.*1704-10, but in any case the tradition of the 1860s refers to him as a joint ruler with Nyamhandu before the latter deposed him. Whether Boroma was a real person or the symbolic leader of an interest group of those opposed to Nyamhandu, he gave rise to a powerful house, but for most of the first part of the eighteenth century it was the Nyamhandu house that dominated the state. Later, Boroma house recovered, and by the 1860s it was claimed that the *mhondoro* of Matope Nyanhehwe had decreed that each house should rule in turn.[123] Since the records show that the great majority of such transfers of power from one house to the other were made after a civil war, this is a good example of the futility of such pronouncements by *mhondoro*, even when genuine.

João Nyamhandu was ruling in 1710, and was still in power in 1723.[124] It is not known how much longer he ruled, but after a brief period of civil war in which one house took refuge on the Marave bank of the Zambezi, he was succeeded by his sons Dehwe II and Joãoquinto Mupunzagutu. The latter was ruling from at least 1735 to his death in 1759, which means that Nyamhandu house dominated the state for almost half a century.[125] During this half-century the shape of the post-Mukombwean state became apparent, and very little change occurred in its structure for the next 150 years. The territory of the state remained intact until at least the 1860s: it ran from the Hunyani river, where it crossed the

Zambezi lowlands east to an ill-defined frontier with the Portuguese *prazos* on the Ruenya and Zambezi, while the southern line was also ill-defined, but included some of the land on the Plateau south of the Mavuradonha range, and east of the Dande river, as well as the lands of the lower Ruya and Mazoe. This was physically a big state, as big as the core area of Ndebele settlement, but of course it was mostly dryland and had a much lower population.

An indication of the strength of the Mutapa state, relative to its usually accepted image of weakness in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is the fact that it was never subjected to rule by one of the supra-*prazo* dynasties, although it was hemmed in by three of these across the Zambezi and Ruenya: Makanga, Massingire, and Massangano.[126] At some time before the mid-eighteenth century, a number of *prazos* had been founded between Tete and Chikova, and in the Tavara country, probably on the lower Ruya and Mazoe.[127] We have already seen how the Mukombwe figure had threatened the Tete *prazos*, and it became the policy of later Mutapas to continue to erode the Portuguese positions, even when they relied to some extent on Portuguese support. Thus Nyakunembire tried to recover lands from the Portuguese in 1694,[128] and in 1710 João Nyamhandu invaded the Tete *prazos* in order to pressure the Portuguese into handing over the barracks at his Zimbabwe.[129] Nyamhandu could not afford to break the links between his state and Tete, and still needed help against his rivals,[130] but before 1735 his son Dehwe II was also responsible for wars against the Portuguese, and rolled back the *prazo*-holders.[131] The *prazos* were especially liable to attack during the many civil wars of the dynasty, presumably because the rival claimants to the supreme title had to find loot and supplies to pay their followers. In the civil wars that followed the death of Joãoquinto Mupunzagutu in 1759, in which a great many Mutapas gained power for very short periods, the expansion of the *prazo* system into the state that had occurred during his long reign was cut back permanently. By 1763 at least nine *prazos*, most of them belonging to the Gomes Nobre and Mouro e Menezes families and lying along the Zambezi, were deserted by their owners, and at least one part of Nyamhandu house had incorporated them into its personal lands. Forty years later, they were still lost to the Portuguese. On the other hand, the Tavara *prazos* seem to have endured, and as late as the end of the nineteenth century the Makuni *shava* dynasty's land of Diwa was officially a *prazo*.[132] When the *prazo* system did

eventually penetrate the area of the state after the 1860s, the system itself had changed. The detailed analyses of *prazo* society at its height which have been published do not, therefore, apply to the greater part of the Mutapa state under the Boroma and Nyamhandu houses.

The structure of Mutapa society in the post-Mukombwean period was very different from that of the state in its earlier centuries. In those days, though a good deal of latitude had been allowed the subrulers, the Mutapa himself clearly stood above the rest of his subordinates. After 1704 he was much more like the first among equals. This was hardly surprising: the civil wars obviously weakened the central authority, making it possible for the house-heads of the dynasty to carve out great territories for themselves. Joãoquinto Mupunzagutu, too, was regarded as a weak ruler, and his quarter-century reign was noted for his lack of control over his subrulers.[133] One of these new subdivisions of land was made up of the *prazos* along the Zambezi taken after 1759: by 1768 Bangoma, Joãoquinto Mupunzagutu's son, had taken them over.[134] Another seems to have been the Tavara territory of the lower Ruya and Mazoe, although this was also claimed by *prazo*-holders. This seems to have been the local stronghold of the Gupo house. Gupo first appeared in the civil wars of *c.*1704-10, and the Gupo house also took part in the 1759-63 wars, if the identification of Gupo with Zindave is correct. Traditions in this area claim that Gupo was killed in this area by his relatives, but he ruled it for some time, and became the main *mhondoro* spirit of the Rusambo *soko/murehwa* dynasty.[135]

The biggest of the new semi-independent territories was that of Dande, western Chidima and those parts of the plateau that had not been allocated to other dynasties earlier. This was the area of the Kamota Kasekete house, which first emerged as a rival to João Nyamhandu in 1719.[136] It failed to gain the title of Mutapa then, but in the struggles of the 1760s the Kamota leader was very briefly successful before being defeated by another claimant.[137] After this, the Kamota Kasekete house contented itself with the rule of its considerable territories, which it claimed it had been allocated by the Mukombwe figure. A particularly important ruler of this house was Chihwahwa, who also became an important *mhondoro*. The Kamota Kasekete dynasty remained a single political unit until after the fall of the Mutapa state, and well into the 1860s, before its southern house took advantage of the onset of

Rhodesian rule and the geographical barriers to found the independent Chiweshe *nzou* dynasty. The lowland component of the Kamota Kasekete area also appears to have held together until about that period, before the Chitsungo *nzou* and Muzarabani houses split off.[138]

By 1723 the capital of the state was no longer on the Plateau. According to Abraham's informants in 1958, the capital after Mukombwe's reign had passed in turn to Bare hill in the upper Ruya area, to Tsokoto across the Mazoe, to the Nyamhende river in the lowlands and to a hill near Tete. Since Abraham's genealogy was compacted and his informants' tradition geographically biased, his locations of Mutapa capitals may not have been entirely accurate, but its sense was.[139] The Mutapa João Nyamhandu was indeed on the Nyamhende river in 1719, and by 1723 he was located in the Mavangwe range not very far from Chikova.[140] From then on, the Mutapa capital was centred in the Zambezi valley lowlands, but in view of the dryland character of those lands it is unlikely that it was possible to occupy any one site with more than the usual concentration of people without an enforced move every few years. At least until the mid-eighteenth century, the Mutapa rulers had a Portuguese garrison which was more or less at their disposal; but, although an impressive number of subrulers assembled at the capital on occasions such as coronations, burials or declarations of war, Mutapa capitals were probably never very large in this lowland phase of the state's history.[141] After 1759 the average reign of a Mutapa was less than six years, and it was therefore likely that it was difficult for individual Mutapas to build up a power structure on the lines of the pre-Mukombwean state.

Under these circumstances, it may be questioned whether there really was a Mutapa state in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In 1763-6 such observers as Mello de Castro and Pinto de Miranda doubted it. Since the death of João Nyamhandu, or at least since the death of Dehwe II under Joãoquinto Mupunzagutu and his short-lived successors, they wrote, the authority of the Mutapas had receded to the area around his court, and in 1763 Mutapa Zindave was only able to remain in power with the help of the house of Chikoka and Dehwe II.[142] From then until the late nineteenth century, observers were to echo this theme, contrasting the current personal weakness of the Mutapa with his former strength.[143] The corresponding rise of such great houses as Kamota Kasekete, Gupo, Kandeya, and Changara was the other side of this

coin. Yet the state survived as an unit, when under normal circumstances it would have been logical for each of the great houses to have assumed complete independence. These houses continued to recognize the Mutapa of the day, and the fact that some of them continued to struggle for the title suggests that it had some worth. In 1831 Gamitto noted that the Mutapa's power, though less than in the past, was still respectable, and that his great subrulers still obeyed him.[144] In 1861-2, even though Mutapa Kataruza's power was weakening, his primacy over the whole state was undoubted.[145] Nor was the state's power judged solely by general estimates. In the 1750s a major revolt of the Dima, a non-Shona group near Chikova, was crushed by one of the subrulers of the state, Kambwe. A century later this campaign was still remembered and pointed out as an example of the Mutapa's power.[146] We have already seen how the Mutapas avoided becoming subjected to a supra-*prazo* dynasty, and how they even recovered land previously lost. For a considerable time they not only held off the Portuguese, but were able to exert their power over the Zambezi. In the past, there had been little evidence for Mutapa control of the lands west of the Hunyani, and they seem to have been under the influence of the related but distinct *nzou-samanyanga* dynasty of Nyamapfeka Kagore.[147] But in 1772 the Mutapa Ganyambadzi attacked Zumbo with such force that the Portuguese were compelled to ask for help from the Changamire. Ganyambadzi was driven back, but the Mutapa state was much closer to Zumbo than the Changamire, and as late as 1831 the Mutapas still ruled the south bank as far as there.[148] In 1807 the Lieutenant-Governor, Vilas Boas Truão, made a major attack upon the Mutapa's territory but he was weakened by inefficiency or treachery, defeated, captured and killed. The Mutapa then continued the war against the Portuguese, and in 1811 he and the leader of the Changara house were still harrying the Portuguese in Tete. In a conflict reminiscent of that of 1609-28, the Mutapas demanded their *saguate*, similar to the *curva*, but did not get it until 1825.[149]

It can thus be seen that in spite of the chaotic political succession of the dynasty and the division of all or almost all the state between the great subrulers, the Mutapa state was able to suppress revolt among its subject non-Shona people, drive back the *prazo*-holders, extend its influence to the west and make fairly successful war on the Portuguese, long after it had been discounted as a force by contemporary observers. How was this possible? In part, it is clear from their own evidence that mid-eighteenth century

writers such as Mello de Castro and Pinto de Miranda had exaggerated the weakness of the central Mutapa leadership. The reign of each Mutapa may, on average, have been short, but the picture given in the evidence is one of the well-organized unit, not one on the verge of collapse. Even though they may not have been able to wield the same powers as their predecessors, the eighteenth-century Mutapas still maintained an elaborate court of various officials, whose posts were hereditary and named after their totems or praise names, and a large number of wives were kept by each ruler. Moreover, the state was still wealthy enough to maintain a regular *boka* (company) numbering over five hundred men, which could be expanded in wartime to an organized force of three thousand. By this time tribute was being levied in slaves and cattle as well as gold and ivory, and the Tavara element in the state had lent its Chikara cult to the support of the monarchy. Even the frequent civil wars had become regulated, to the extent that there was a recognized procedure by which defeated Mutapas were put to death.[150] Even so, however, the survival of the Mutapa state as a unit for a century and a half after 1704 cannot be entirely explained by residual strength: there appears to have been another factor involved. The answer seems to lie in a successful response to the political pressures of the eighteenth century and to the lowland environment of the Zambezi valley, which led to the state taking on a confederal structure backed up by a growing military element not unlike that of the Changamire Rozvi in the south of the Plateau or the Nguni and Sotho peoples of the nineteenth-century *mfecane*.

In the pre-Mukombwean period the Mutapa state had been based on the Plateau, where the possibility of keeping large herds of cattle seems to have encouraged *rovora*-payment and patrilocal marriage, as was the rule among the independent Shona right up to the end of the nineteenth century. During this period, there was little evidence of a large standing army, though forces could be raised for specific campaigns.[151] But in the Zambezi valley cattle-keeping was difficult, and there was a heavy emphasis on agriculture, in which the labour-service and uxorilocal marriage was prominent.[152] The institution of slavery was also more prominent than on the Plateau.[153] In the pre-Mukombwean period, much of the Zambezi valley had been dominated by the first great *prazo*-holders and their slave armies. These, as is well known, evolved into the Chikunda, patrilineal groups of diverse origins which

developed an identity of their own and, in many cases, broke away from the control of the *prazo*-holders to set up on their own.[154]

The rise of the great *prazo* dynasties and their Chikunda armies, as has been made clear above, involved a great deal of violence which threatened the people of the Mutapa state. In the Zambezi valley the Mutapa state developed its own defence. Because the valley was poor, dryland country there were always those who were forced to become *varanda*, bondsmen, or even slaves, dependent upon the wealthier. The girls of these families were readily absorbed into an economy that stressed their value, but the boys became *vanyai*.[155] *Nyai* in the south of the plateau at that time simply meant the subjects of the Changamire, but in the Mutapa state it referred to the young fighters, the first association of *nyai* with the Mutapa being as early as 1696.[156] Because of the importance of women in the valley lowlands, these *vanyai* drew their status from their mothers rather than their relatively lowly fathers, so that in 1856 Livingstone was under the impression that they were all the sons of free men.[157] They gathered under local leaders, chosen by the subruler, known as *makurukota*, and were trained by him as fighters. They obviously took part in other activities traditional to young men, such as hunting, helping with the crops at peak work periods, running messages, and herding whatever livestock existed, but their main value was as a fighting unit that was highly appreciated.[158] These groups of *vanyai*, known as *condo* or *binzo* to the Portuguese, might number anything from 200 to 500, or even 1,000, subdivided into *boka* (companies) of one hundred each, and sixteen of these were named in the 1760s.[159] They only retained a separate existence until their members were able to marry, and then they were replaced by fresh recruits.[160]

The emergence of the *vanyai* appears to be the main reason for the continued existence and surprising resilience of the Mutapa state. They provided the military muscle to repel Portuguese attacks and to extend the Mutapa's influence. Apart from the victories mentioned above, it is noticeable that less than 6.2 per cent of the slaves freed in neighbouring Tete in 1856 came from the Mutapa state.[161] They also supplied their subrulers of the Mutapa dynasty with the force with which to claim the Mutapa title, and by trading or, very often, robbing traders, they bought in extra wealth to their subrulers.[162] The reason that they did not become forces for disruption and break away, like the Chikunda, or become cohesive communities within the state, like the Ndebele *amabutho*, is not easily decided.[163] Theoretically, it ought to have been

possible for a *nyai* band to capture enough women in the course of its wars to set up on its own as a fully fledged community. Possibly the fact that the Zambezi valley lowlands were so poor that the *vanyai* were unable to subsist on what they hunted or raided, and therefore relied upon crops grown by slaves sent by their parents, kept them so indebted to their original community that they were unable to break free.[164] *Nyai* raiders were still powerful in the Mutapa state in the early 1860s, the Mutapa state still retained its confederal character with the land divided up between the subrulers, and the Mutapa title was still supreme over the whole state. The rulers of the lower Ruya and Mazoe were still going to the Mutapa Kataruza to be confirmed in their titles, and the forthcoming struggle for Kataruza's own title after his death was being prepared for by the members of the Boroma and Nyamhandu houses.[165] But at last the state was finally on the verge of collapse and extinction as a major unit.

vi. The fall of the Mutapa state, 1868-84

As befits a state that spanned five centuries, the Mutapa state has been pronounced dying or dead many times by historians. Those who failed to make the distinction between the state and its outlying tributaries, lumping both together under the label of 'empire', have seen the beginning of this decline as early as 1500 with the wars with the eastern Shona.[166] Even if Mutapa claims to rule over these areas were correct, the state itself had another four and a half centuries to go. Others have pointed to the disastrous treaty of 1629, the Changamire raids of 1693 and 1702, or the Nguni raids of the 1830s.[167] In fact, as pointed out above, the Mutapa state survived all of these. Obviously, there were periods in which the Mutapa's authority was weakened, and definite occasions highlight these periods. Thus the 1629 treaty was symbolic of the entire period 1598-1663, while the Changamire raids symbolize the entire Mukombwean period. Obviously, the Mutapa of 1500 with his ambitions of control of the Sofala trade route was stronger than Gatsi Rusere in 1600, who was forced to defend the highland centre of his state against rebels and invaders. Obviously he in turn was more powerful than the sons of Mukombwe in 1700 as they struggled to adjust to the changed circumstances of an essentially lowland state. On the other hand it is arguable that the confederal state under the Boroma and Nyamhandu house-rulers in 1800 was stronger than the state of 1700. But the end finally came after 1868.

Certain factors helped to weaken the state before 1868, but their effects were not fatal of themselves. There were very serious droughts in the period 1823-30, when the entire Zambezi valley seemed to be on the verge of starvation, but the state had survived droughts before, in the 1560s and the 1670s. Then there came the *mfecane*, a period of upheaval in southern Africa, and in the 1830s the Mutapas Kandeya and Dzeka faced the threat of the Ngoni. In *c.*1833 Zwangendaba's Ngoni settled in Satwa, just south of the Mazoe river on the old southern border of the state, having defeated both a Portuguese *prazo*-holder's force on the Nyadiri and the Ngwana Maseko north of Wedza. Then they set out for the north and moved straight across the state to cross the Zambezi in late 1835. Since they were fleeing from a defeat in a third battle by a joint force of Ngwana Maseko and Nxaba's Ngoni, it is unlikely that they caused more than passing losses to the Mutapa, but a more persistent threat appeared in late 1836. This involved Ngwana Maseko or Nxaba's Ngoni, who invaded the east of the state, near Tete. Here they met the *vanyai* of the Mutapa as well as the Tonga from beyond the Ruenya, and were defeated in two actions in which the Tonga appear to have borne the brunt of the action. They retreated to the Plateau, and the state was not seriously affected again.[168] Nxaba's Nguni and Mzilikazi's Ndebele came as close as Zumbo,[169] but by the 1860s the state seems to have recovered.

The real cause of the fall of the state was the revival of Portuguese power in the late nineteenth century. The origins of this revival in Portugal have been analysed elsewhere, but in the Zambezi valley the Portuguese achieved much of their revival by traditional means. Thus, although they crushed the power of some of the old *prazo* dynasties such as the da Cruz of Massangano and the Vas dos Anjos of Massingire, much of their own power continued to rest upon other *prazo*-holders, such as Sousa of Gorongosa. The Portuguese began to react to the threat of colonization by other European powers, and encouraged many new *prazo*-holders to claim as much land as possible on both banks of the Zambezi. The *vanyai* of the Mutapa state had been able to repel the forces of the much smaller *prazos* of the eighteenth century, so that no supra-*prazo* had been able to emerge, but they could not deal with these newcomers, whose Chikunda forces were backed up by the Portuguese authorities.[170]

The first sign of danger came in 1861-2, when Albino Manoel Pacheco and 20 men reoccupied Zumbo. By 1863 he was beginning to get concessions from such rulers as the Nyamapfeka Kagore group.[171] But Pacheco was a Portuguese official, and the major threat came from the *prazo*-holders, Ignacio de Jesus Xavier, 'Karazimamba', José de Araújo Lobo, 'Matekenya', Vicente José Ribeiro, 'Chimbangu' José do Rosario Andrade, 'Kanyemba', Sebastião Morães Almeida, 'Perizengwe', João Lobo, and Vicente Ribeiro da Fonseca, 'Sakani'. The assault on the state began with the death of Mutapa Kataruza in *c.*1868. Kataruza was of the Kandeya sub-house of the Nyamhandu house, and in the early 1860s it had been expected that his successor would be Gire of Boroma house.[172] In the event, however, his son Kandeya allied himself to the da Cruz of Massangano, relatives by marriage, and took the title. This attracted the hostility of the Portuguese who feared a Mutapa-da Cruz alliance directed against them, and they attacked him. His successor Dzuda drove the Portuguese back for a little while, but after 1876 the forces of Jesus Xavier began to take over the eastern part of the state. By 1884 Dzuda had been defeated, and Jesus Xavier's power soon reached from his headquarters at Chikova to the lower Ruya: the local ruler Rusambo paid tribute from 1887 onwards.[173]

The centre and west of the state was divided up between the other *prazo*-holders. The Rosario Andrade family took all the territory from the Musengezi to the west of Zumbo, and appear to have taken the last of this in 1884.[174] The centre of the state also appears to have fallen by this year, but it went to four different *prazo*-holders. Morães Almeida took the Zambezi bank east of the Musengezi, with Lobo just south of him.[178] The Mukumbura valley went to the Ribeiro Fonseca family, which was already established by 1884.[176] But the most ambitious of the *prazo*-holders of the centre appears to have been Vicente José Ribeiro. Like many of the new *prazo*-holders, Ribeiro had interests on both banks of the Zambezi.[177] He held the *prazo* of Masingwa in the west of Chidima, in the lands of the Kamota Kasekete house, and claimed a vague *prazo* of Makomo 'beyond the mountains', which he generously interpreted to mean both the upper Ruya valley and the land of Guruwe, west of the Umvukwe range.[178] It is interesting to note the differing reactions to Ribeiro. West of the Umvukwe Range, the Chingowo dynasty had recently begun to suffer from renewed Ndebele raids, and in 1889 the Chingowo ruler was willing to make a treaty with Ribeiro and the Portuguese government representative Vitor Cordon in return for

guns.[179] But the Plateau segment of the old Mutapa state, gradually slipping from Mutapa control after the land-allocations of Mukombwe, had suffered very little apart from local wars in the past two centuries. Apart from the Matema wars of the mid-eighteenth century and the Ndebele raids on the upper Mazoe in the 1860s, the area had been relatively stable for a long time. Indeed, there appears to have been only one land settlement after the immediately post-Mukombwean period, that of the *tembo* Bushu group, part of a mid-eighteenth-century movement from Manyika.[180] Consequently there was not the same readiness to accept the *prazo*-holders as allies against the Ndebele as existed further south. Ribeiro was resisted, and in 1884 Kasekete Chuzu had mobilized all his people as far south of the Musengezi headwaters to drive back the Portuguese.[181] Since this was probably the area in which the Mutapa state had first risen to power, it is interesting to see that almost the last resistance offered by the dynasty was in this area. One of the Nyombwe dynasty in exile, however, paid tax to Ribeiro.[182]

The British ultimatum to the Portuguese in January 1890 was the prelude to the partition of the Mutapa state. The Portuguese plans to occupy the northern half of the Plateau were stopped, and by the end of the year the first Rhodesians were moving into the upper Mazoe valley. In the years that followed, prospectors and traders began to take over what had been Ribeiro's *prazos*, and by 1895 Native Commissioner H.H. Pollard, 'Kunyaira', had reached Ribeiro's southern headquarters. Ribeiro tried to get the best of both worlds by the marriage of his daughter to Pollard, but the demarcation of the border eventually ended this sort of local alliance.[183] The wars up to 1902 in which Kataruza's son Chioko took part have been called the last days of the Mutapa state, but the fact that those who recognized his father as their superior did not give him the same recognition suggests that the state had finally ceased to exist round about 1884;[184] all that remained were the people, living under their different rulers who were themselves under new masters.

CHAPTER 5

The Eastern Shona

i. The origins of the eastern Shona

Our knowledge of the history of the eastern Shona is complicated by an uneven supply of information: the Portuguese documents nearly all deal with the areas east of the eastern highlands, while most of the available traditional evidence refers to the Plateau to the west of them. Only in a few areas such as Manyika do they coincide. As for the archaeology, at present it relates almost entirely to the cultures that, for one reason or another, built in stone. A further complicating feature is that this area is one where the linguistic frontier has fluctuated. There have been areas where the Shona have moved into non-Shona-speaking areas, such as Barwe and the area near Inhambane, but in numbers small enough to lead to their gradual absorption by the basic population in terms of language and culture, although various 'Shona' traits survived. On the other hand, we know of at least one area, the Inyanga plateau, where Shona immigration was in sufficient numbers to lead to the replacement of a non-Shona language by Shona, though in turn the vanquished language passed on traits to that branch of Shona. It is quite possible that this process has occurred elsewhere, especially in the rest of the eastern highlands south of Manyika where the Ndau-speaking Shona are found today, but a great deal of further research on this is needed. Finally, in the lower Sabi valley, as in the lowveld south-east of the Plateau, Shona-speaking settlements have been swamped by Tsonga immigration.

These non-Shona-speakers in the east were frequently referred to as 'Tonga', but this does not indicate any common origin, even though one Shona traditional historian thought he could explain the similarity of the names for the Valley Tonga of the middle Zambezi and the Lower Zambezi Tonga by referring to the Mutota figure of the Mutapa dynasty 'conquering as he went . . . driving thousands of the vaTonga in the west and vaTonga in the east across the Zambezi to make room for his own people'.[1] This was

not only a Mutapa-biased explanation but a Shona-biased one as well. The fact was that the word *tonga*, suggesting either 'subject' or 'chiefless' people, was used by various Bantu-speaking people at various times to mean different groups from Lake Malawi to Delagoa Bay, including the Lakeside Tonga of modern Malawi, the Valley Tonga of the middle Zambezi, the Sena-speaking Lower Zambezi Tonga, the Tonga of the bay of Inhambane and the Tsonga-speakers who eventually covered almost the whole area between the Sabi, the Plateau, and Delagoa Bay.[2] Certain Shona dynasties such as the Changamire Rozvi or the Duma used it to mean their Shona-speaking subjects.[3] Thus we do not always know who the 'Tonga' mentioned in Shona traditions are, though usually the modern language of each area gives us a good idea.

Between the lower Zambezi river and the Inyanga plateau and between the Ruenya and Pungwe rivers lived the Sena-speaking Lower Zambezi Tonga. These people can be divided into two main groups from an historical point of view: those whose ruling dynasties were replaced by Shona-speaking dynasties moving out of the Plateau and the Mutapa state area, and those who remained under 'pure' Tonga leadership. Of the latter, the best-known to historians are those who opposed the Mutapas from *c.*1550, the Portuguese in 1572, the Mutapa Gatsi Rusere in 1608, the Portuguese in the early 1630s and 1660s, and the Nguni in the 1830s, as was shown in the last chapter. The ones that concern us, however, are those who came under Shona rule in the great territory of Barwe, in the Ruenya valley and on the Inyanga plateau. The Tonga of Barwe remained the basic population of that land, and in the end their language and culture came to be adopted by the Makombe *nguruve* dynasty of Shona origin which had conquered them. A Tonga lineage of the *tembo* totem became the hereditary holders of the Mukomohasha title and played a significant part in Barwe politics.[4] Much the same situation existed in the Ruenya valley west of Barwe. Along the west bank of the river there was a line of Tonga-speaking dynasties that included vaTondo *nzou*, Samsusu and Sapfumo *tembo*, Tsinde *chirongo*, and Chitarwa *soko*; they were probably tributary to Barwe itself, their dynasties were overcome by Shona-speakers from the west who were then culturally assimilated.[5] As for the Tonga-speakers of the Inyanga plateau, they appear to have been south-western branches of the Barwe peoples, but because the evidence on their interesting culture cannot be dated any earlier than the mid-seventeenth century it will be dealt with below.

There are two sixteenth-century references to 'Tonga' in Manyika and Teve that might refer to non-Shona-speakers, but they could equally well refer to early eastern Shona and only archaeology can decide this question.[6] There are only hints of non-Shona people in the southern part of the eastern highlands and between there and the sea: J.K. Rennie described the predecessors of the modern Ndau dynasties as being the usual *mandionerepi*, 'little people' types of Shona myth, and while this cannot tell us whether they were or were not Shona it is possible that the considerable differences between modern Ndau and the Shona dialect clusters that surround it might be due to interaction between Shona-speaking immigrants and non-Shona-speakers just as occurred on the Inyanga plateau. Rennie also pointed to the presence of a non-Shona *saveka* (python-totem) clan that was supposed to have been conquered by the coastal Shona.[7] Finally, south of the Sabi along the coast were the distinct Tonga and Tsonga-speaking peoples of the South-east Bantu language family.[8]

As already pointed out, some of the problems of deciding where and when Shona settlements in the east occurred can only be settled by archaeology, but at present we have virtually no archaeology of the ordinary people outside the Inyanga plateau. There is, however, an archaeology of the expansion of the Zimbabwe culture into the eastern Shona area. This suggests that there was a very early expansion of dynasties of the Zimbabwe culture south-east, east, and north-east towards the coast in much the same way as it expanded north and west. This archaeology can be related to some extent to the evidence of records and traditions, even though in most cases all that remained is the name of a semi-mythical ruler figure remembered by a dynasty that conquered an area in which a dated *zimbabwe* was situated. In the north-east of the Plateau, for example, was a shoulder of higher ground, mountainous and gold-bearing, between the Nyadiri and Ruenya rivers, later known as Budya. There were at least two buildings of the Zimbabwe culture located there, and one of them was near Mutemwa mountain. According to the traditions of the Budya people who occupied the area (probably at least as early as the mid-seventeenth century because branches of the Budya went west later to take part in the Mukombwean reconstruction), they defeated a powerful magic-worker named Makati, and two neighbouring rulers known as Mukoko and Munonwapo. 'Makati' survives as the praise name of a small *soko*-totem group farther east, and it is

possible that the *zimbabwe* of Budya were the work of a *soko* dynasty.[9]

South-east of Budya across the Nyangadzi river in the territory of Maungwe and still farther in that direction over the Odzi in Manyika the evidence is a little firmer. There was a *zimbabwe* in the Rusape valley that was of the Zimbabwe culture, dating from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, and a strange stone construction in the upper Sakubva valley, near the watershed of the eastern highlands, that also belonged to the Zimbabwe culture and dated from the fifteenth century.[10] In each area there is a group which survives to this day and which, although not definitely associated with the local ruin in tradition, may well have been linked with it in fact. In Maungwe, the Makoni *shonga* dynasty has been ruling since the early seventeenth century, and before it came to power the closely related Chipunza dynasty ruled. Both of these dynasties claimed to have come from the Mutapa state, from Chidima, and to have found naked, hairy people who were ignorant of fire, variously identified as Mutwira *hungwe* or Madziwa, who were conquered and became hereditary supporters of the dynasty.[11] If we allow as much as a century for Chipunza rule in Maungwe, the Mutwira figure could very well have been the occupant of the Chipadze *zimbabwe*.

Much the same conclusion can be drawn for the Manyika territory, which has been ruled by members of the Chikanga dynasty of either the *nguruve* or the *tembo-shumba* totems since at least the early sixteenth century. The Chikanga *tembo-shumba* dynasty retains a tradition of having supplanted the Muponda *nyere* and Muchena *shava* dynasties, who are also depicted as having been ignorant of fire, though the Muponda people denied this in 1904. The *tembo-shumba* Chikanga line appears to date back to the 1690s, but in the 1560s under the earlier Chikanga dynasty there was an important subruler named the Chipondo, and he may have been the same as the Muponda in which case there might also be a link with the local *zimbabwe*.[12] These suggested links can also be made because the available traditions of the Makoni-Chipunza and Chikanga dynasties give strong indications of origins in the lowlands of the Mutapa state, whereas the archaeology of the *zimbabwe* suggests a more direct movement from Zimbabwe as well as dates earlier than can be proven for any of the dynasties.

Still farther south from Manyika in the middle Sabi valley, Rennie's work has highlighted the connections between the Nyakuimba-Musikavanhu *dziva* dynasty and the Zimbabwe state

proper. Whereas the Nyakuimba-Musikavanhu line cannot be traced back any earlier than the first half of the seventeenth century by generational dating, there is every indication that the first Nyakuimba in the genealogy was in fact a complete dynasty running farther back into the past. Moreover, not only is there a clear tradition that the dynasty came from the general area of the Zimbabwe state, but also there are clear links in traditions between the dynasty and the stone buildings in the Musikavanhu territory of Dondo. These buildings, however, not being made of granite, are not easy to classify. Musikavanhu traditions depict the Nyakuimba figure as a more or less purely religious figure before being supplanted by an usurper from the north who, however, assumed the totem and many of the features of the older lineage's rule.[13] Rennie shows how the history of the Musikavanhu rain cult and dynasty is one of increasing secularization, but since his information on the nature of the earliest phase of Nyakuimba rule is necessarily based on traditions it is perhaps worth pointing out that the evidence may have more to do with what the modern people think about the past than with reality. In other words, although there is a tendency in Shona traditions to think about such very early figures in 'religious' terms, the documents of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries do not record such purely religious figures exercising power of the kind that Nyakuimba is supposed to have wielded, and it is possible that the Nyakuimba line was much more like other Shona dynasties of its time.

The problem of classifying and dating non-granite stone buildings is particularly acute east of the eastern highlands because the laminar schists and limestones that had to be used there did not split as easily as Plateau granite. Consequently only full-scale excavations of the various *zimbabwe* in the territories east of the highlands can link them with any of the dynasties mentioned by the earliest Portuguese documents. Thus, while there were at least seven stone buildings of various kinds in Barwe, two in Manyika and Teve, and three farther south, and at least two of these were definitely of the Zimbabwe culture, links between them and named dynasties can only be very tentative. Some of these in Barwe might possibly relate to the Makombe dynasty. Another, far to the south near the bay of Inhambane, was occupied from the thirteenth century and was in the same general area where a Shona immigration from the Plateau was said to have taken place, in an area where the greatest evidence for Shona cultural contact survived. Thus, while it is possible that the Makombe *nguruve* dynasty of Barwe,

the *moyo* dynasties of Teve and Danda, and the Gambe dynasty of Tonge near Inhambane can be directly linked with the Zimbabwe culture this is no more than a possibility at present.[14]

To sum up the origins of the eastern Shona, therefore, we can say that although we have no archaeology for the ordinary people equivalent to that of the Leopard's Kopje, Gumanye, Harare, or Musengezi cultures farther west, it is reasonable to assume that a good deal of the eastern Plateau was occupied by such people early on, though non-Shona communities dating from even earlier settlements may have persisted until quite late in some areas such as Manyika, Teve, and the highlands. Some time between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries there was an expansion of the Zimbabwe culture over most of the area in question, and some tentative links between this and such figures as Makati, Mutwira, Muponda, and Nyakuimba can be made. By the sixteenth century, however, a new political structure had come into being in most of the eastern Shona country, and this was to prove surprisingly durable, with some dynasties surviving into the twentieth century.

ii. Dynastic politics among the eastern Shona before c.1850

The traditions of the ruling dynasties of the eastern Shona after about 1550 show a remarkable overall consistency in claiming origins in what, to them, was the north-west: in other words, the Mutapa state and its general vicinity. On the whole, these traditions appear to be more or less convincing, but there has been a tendency among both Shona traditional historians and European commentators to make the entire process into a single, connected event rather than a series of more or less unconnected ones. In the 1580s and 1590s João dos Santos heard that the Mutapa had originally ruled the entire Shona seaboard and had given the territories of Teve, Manyika, and Danda to three of his sons, who became independent when a fourth became the next Mutapa.[15] By 1810 a quite different version was current among the eastern Shona, to the effect that two dissatisfied sons of a Mutapa had left the Mutapa state and gone to their brother the Changamire seeking help, whereupon he had put the one in charge of Teve and the other into the land of Danda.[16] However, only a few years later in the same area yet another variant was recorded: in this one, the Changamire — the Mutapa's son-in-law this time — was ordered by the Mutapa to install three sons in the territories of

Teve, Danda, and Sanga.[17] Quite apart from the obvious inconsistencies of these versions, there are some less obvious ones. Whereas the totems of the Changamire, Teve, Danda, and Sanga dynasties were all *moyo*, and it is possible that the *mhumba*, heart-of-elephant, part of the Mutapa totem could be equated with *moyo*, the available evidence on the pre-1695 Chikangas of Manyika suggests that their totem was probably *nguruve*. Moreover, whereas the Teve and Danda *moyo* dynasties appear to date back to at least the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Mutema dynasty of Sanga and the real period of Changamire power cannot be dated back very much earlier than the late seventeenth century. But perhaps the consistencies are more significant: in each case, a Shona traditional historian appears to have been trying to explain the current political set-up of his own time by a single event, related to the most powerful and famous Shona dynasties of his day — the Mutapa and Changamire dynasties in the 1800s, but only the Mutapa in the 1580s because the Changamire had not yet become a power. This series of traditions looks rather like the attempt of Mutapa-biased traditional historians of the northern Shona to explain the entire 'Guruuswa' movement in terms of the deeds of Mutota, and as in the history of the northern Shona it will be suggested here that this is a stylized version of a real but much more gradual series of events. Thus it is possible to look at the individual histories of most of the eastern Shona dynasties and see a gradual movement south-eastward from the Mutapa state, but spread out over two or more centuries.

Both the Mutapa and the Barwe traditions agree that the origins of the Makombe dynasty of Barwe lay in the Mutapa state. Pacheco learned that Barwe was given as dowry to Mureche, daughter of Mutapa Matope Nebedza, when she married a son of the ruler of Teve, and that the land later became detached from the Mutapa state.[18] George Kupara claimed that Matope conquered Barwe, and that Matope 'gave' Barwe to his daughter Mureche,[19] but Barwe tradition states that Mureche and her husband Chimupore conquered Barwe for themselves. This latter variant is backed up by the traditions of the Ruenya valley, where a number of Karanga dynasties, like the Makombe dynasty to whom they were generally subject, established themselves over a basically Tonga population and, in time, came to speak Tonga. The totem of the dynasty founded by Chimupore and Mureche's son, Makombe, was *nguruve*, but the basic Tonga population, and especially the *tembo*-totem Tonga family of Mukomohasha, continued to play

an important part in the government of the land.[20] The conquest of Barwe by Karanga from the Mutapa state probably occurred in the fifteenth century or earlier, since the territory was already well established by 1512, and a very long ruler-list retained by the Barwe would tend to support this.[21] But, as pointed out earlier, the Makombe dynasty of Barwe was in the end assimilated by its basic Sena-speaking population, although it still called itself 'Karanga' and retained many characteristically Shona religious and ritual practices. Thus although the power of this large non-Shona territory made it a force to be reckoned with in north-eastern Shona politics, its internal history lies outside the scope of this work.[22] The Ruenya valley area experienced the same process on a smaller scale: the territories of Chidye, Marembe, Sangano, Nyachiranga, and Rupire were occupied by the Mkota *soko*, Goronga *nzou*, Goze *tembo*, Zinhu *tembo*, and Chikwizu *nzou* dynasties, all with traditions of having come from the Mutapa state area. They conquered the original Tonga dynasties mentioned earlier and in due course became Tonga themselves. The only clue we have as to the date of this process is a reference to a 'Macota' ruling the land of 'Chiria' near the *feira* of Luanze in the early seventeenth century; this, however, only indicates that the Mkota dynasty was already settled and does not date the others one way or the other.[23]

We have already seen how the area later known as Budya was ruled by three dynasties, Makati, Mukoko, and Munonwapo, who may have been members of the original Zimbabwe culture. At some time before the late seventeenth century these lands were conquered by a number of dynasties moving out of the Zambezi valley. It has been suggested that this took place about 1700,[24] and indeed, the current traditions of the Budya mention a Mukombwe as the father or brother of their founding heroes Nehoreka and Mapahwe, thus suggesting the famous late seventeenth-century Mutapa, Mukombwe.[25] But this was either another Mukombwe or a borrowing from the traditions of the people across the Mazoe, for in fact the *shumba*-totem Budya were already established in Budya by Mutapa Mukombwe's reign, since there are clear traditions of a movement of *shumba*-totem Budya from Budya to the upper Mazoe valley, where he allocated land to them, while another branch of this movement reached the Urungwe plateau in time to meet the Mbara, who might well have survived there until the seventeenth century but hardly into the eighteenth.[26] The most famous of the Budya was Nehoreka or Nohureka, a *nzou*-totem leader claiming descent from the Mutapa 'Munembire'.[27] He came

from Mungari, a land in the Zambezi valley near Tete, in company with Mapahwe or Mapatwe, the leader of a number of *shumba/nyamuziwa-hara* families. They captured the land between the Nyadiri and the Mudzi from Makati, who according to myth withdrew into a mountain; other traditions claim that he married Mapahwe's sister Nyamungati. But it seems that the balance of power between Nehoreka and Mapahwe could not be maintained, and a most unusual situation arose. Nehoreka assumed the *shumba* totem and became the *mhondoro* of the whole area, operating from Mahuyu, the land west of the Chitora river, which fell under the control of the Charewa female rulers. The Charewas were in turn appointed by the descendants of Mapahwe, whose *shumba* line was in theory supreme in secular matters throughout the area, but not in religious matters. In practice, a great deal of autonomy was usual. After Mapahwe's death the supreme power passed between four houses, but there was no overall title, the ruler being variously called Nyamakwere-Nyamukapa, Dawa-Nyakuna, Nyahunimbiri-Kawere and Mbudzi-Kowo depending upon his house. It should perhaps be pointed out that the structure of the politics of this odd dynasty, which for simplicity's sake will be called 'Budya', is so symmetrical as to invite suspicion and further research.

Other dynasties that claimed to have accompanied the Budya from the Mutapa state area included those of Chatora's *nzou/varinyakonda-mukotami* and Chimoyo's *soko/murehwa-mbire*, as well as the smaller units of Nyamukuwari *kota/gwai* and Nechombo *shava/mbizi*. Whereas Mungari, the land of origin of the Budya, was in the eastern end of the Mutapa state, Chatora who took Ngarwe from Mukoko came from 'Mutota', while Chimoyo's Sewe people came from 'Mbire', as did Nyamukuwari's group which took Dohora. 'Mbire' and 'Mutota' are also cited as places of origin by the Tonga dynasties in the Ruenya valley immediately to the east, and there can be little doubt that these people came from the heart of the Mutapa state, whether Mbire I or II is meant. Ngarwe was north of Budya and was taken by Chatora in a straight fight, his son Nemembiro founding the polity, but Chimoyo's people lived for a time as subordinates of the original ruler Munonwapo before supplanting him in an episode described in a myth. Nyamukukwari's land of Dohora was a small strip, as was that of Nechombo.[28]

If we know that the Budya settlement did not take place later than the mid-seventeenth century, we do not know how much

earlier it occurred, but its neighbours to the south and east were certainly established much earlier. As mentioned earlier, the land on the western flanks of the Inyanga plateau, south of the Nyangadzi and west of the Macheke rivers, was called Maungwe and was inhabited by the *hungwe*-totem people of Mutwira, probably the occupants of the *zimbabwe* of Chipadze. The traditions of the *shonga* people of Maungwe, the Mhina as they were called, are known to us in the version given by the current dynasty of Makoni. According to this, the dynasty came from Chiriri in *tanganyika*, the 'beginning country', and lived in Chidima in the Zambezi valley before coming to Maungwe. The first *shonga* ruler actually to live in Maungwe, who built the Chitakete stone platform next to Chipadze, was Sabarawara, and of his sons Chipunza and Muswere it was Muswere the founder of the Makoni dynasty who was credited with the final subjection of the Mutwira dynasty by a mythical process found in both Maungwe and Manyika tradition. Yet it seems that Muswere's foundation of the Makoni line was really a change within an already well-established dynasty, for the Chipunza line was left in charge of Mhina, and the Chitakete *zimbabwe*. Its genealogical seniority was recognized, and Mhina became an autonomous unit within Maungwe. This change occurred by the early seventeenth century at the latest, as Macedo, Barreto de Rezende, and Bocarro all referred to Makoni of Maungwe. Their claim on behalf of the Mutapa that Maungwe was a tributary land is not confirmed in Maungwe traditions. Other developments in Maungwe were the establishment of the Dewedzo, Danha, Dungu, and Makwe wards for members of the dynasty and Chipunda ward for Mutwira's people. The arrival of Muslim *mwenye* traders, retreating before the advance of the Portuguese after their early seventeenth-century success, was reported; but it is hardly likely that they actually gained control of the land, as Manoel Barretto claimed.[29] The later history of Maungwe before about 1850 is known to us almost entirely from the work of D.P. Abraham, and gives us a picture of the continued dominance of the large territory that had been staked out. This reached as far south as the Mtanda range and as far west as the Macheke even though the centre of Makoni power was on the western slopes of the Inyanga plateau, well to the east of the territory as a whole.[30]

The territory of Manyika straddled the eastern highlands at a point where a natural pass coincided with a goldfield. Consequently, it was of considerable importance in the economy of the Plateau both as a producing area and as a trading centre even though

it was, in the beginning, little more than the Mutare, Odzani, and Revue valleys squeezed in between the Inyanga plateau and the Vumba range. Manyika dates as far back as 1512 in the records, and as early as 1575 the ruling dynasty was identified as 'Chikanga'.[31] This title was to endure until the nineteenth century, but it seems probable that it belonged to two unrelated dynasties ruling in succession. The Chikanga *tembo-shumba* dynasty which ruled since about 1700 preserved a vague tradition of having replaced not only the Muponda *nyere* and Muchena *shava* lineages but also an earlier Chikanga dynasty of the *nguruve* totem. This tradition may possibly tie in with Monclaro's comment that the Chikanga of the 1570s was 'half a Muslim', since people of the *nguruve* totem are supposed to abstain from pork, while Abraham's statement that survivors of this *nguruve* line survived into the twentieth century would explain the failure of most *tembo-shumba* Chikanga traditions to mention this. Abraham also wrote that this Chikanga *nguruve* line was a branch of the Makombe dynasty of Barwe and that it was expelled from Manyika in 1695 by the Changamire; this last statement is supported by other evidence.[32]

The Chikanga *tembo-shumba* dynasty's traditions begin with a migration from the Mutapa state area — Mbire I or II — led by the first of two ancestor figures named Nyamubvambire. Nyamubvambire I can be dated to *1699 ± 32 by generational dating, and his conquest of Manyika is explained in mythical terms similar to those used in Maungwe traditions. There is a remarkable coincidence of names and totems between Nyamubvambire I *tembo* and the Mutapa Nyakuvimbire or Nyakunembire, one of whose totems was also *tembo*, who was last heard of in 1694 having been expelled from Mukaranga by Mutapa Pedro Mhande and having gone to join his ally the Changamire in Maungwe. Since the Changamire took the territory and *feira* of Manyika in the next year, it seems quite possible that he installed the defeated Mutapa as the first of a new line of Chikanga who would be, at least until they were more secure in their new land, dependent upon the Changamire for support. Not surprisingly, neither the *tembo-shumba* Chikangas nor the Portuguese, who had their own troubles at this time, recorded this aspect of the dynasty's history, and in the 1780s the latter were being told by the former that before 1695 there had not really been a Chikanga line at all — a flat untruth, in view of the earlier records.[33] Little is known from the documents of the internal politics of Manyika from 1695 to 1795, but the Chikanga

who died in that latter year can be identified with some certainty with Pfete, who figures with some prominence in traditions because he was the ancestor of all subsequent Manyika rulers. He was the great-grandson of 'Goyavera' who was said to have been the third ruler of Manyika, and thus the documents and traditions agree to the extent that Pfete was of the house of Govera.[34] The traditions collected by J. Machiwenyika indicate that Manyika dynastic politics before and after Pfete's reign were characterized by the gradual exclusion from the succession firstly of the members of the Chikanga dynasty outside Govera house, secondly the members of Govera house outside Pfete house and, in the end, the members of Pfete house outside Tendayi houses — in other words, the successive seizure of power by one major sub-group every generation. This is supported by both the documents and the traditions, which give a picture of endemic civil war from at least 1795 to the end of the nineteenth century, and the situation seems to have led to major changes in the dynasty's totem and title: the members of the Govera house changed their totem from *tembo* to *shumba*, and the members of Pfete house changed the dynasty's title from Chikanga to Mutasa.[35] Such changes, which in effect exclude branches of dynasty from the succession, are frequently said to have happened in Shona history, but this is one of the occasions where they can be dated more or less exactly: the Chihota dynasty emigrated from Manyika at some time before *1760 ± 36, and its branches all retained the *tembo* totem, but the Chirimuhanzu branch of Govera house which emigrated before *1788 ± 24 acquired the *shumba* totem.[36] As for the title, 'Chikanga' was used until some time between 1822 and 1845, when 'Mutasa' began to be used.[37]

The land of Teve east of Manyika was ruled by a dynasty called 'Quiteve' by the Portuguese, a spelling that apparently reflects a Shona pronunciation that is now obsolete. Teve was ruled by a *moyo* dynasty at least as far back as the seventeenth century,[38] and it is probable that it was ruling as early as 1512, when a ruler named 'Ynhacouee' living between Manyika and Sofala was said to be the *capitão mor* of the Mutapa.[39] In the context this can only refer to Teve, though it is not certain that the stated relationship with the Mutapa was accurate. Abraham has claimed that a document shows that the first Teve ruler, Manyenganyura, was a son of the Mutapa Mukombero Nyahuma and was installed by the Changamire on behalf of the Mutapa.[40] In the absence of adequate references, however, it can only be pointed out that the most likely author of such a document gave the names of only eleven Teve rulers in 1831, three of whom were co-rulers, and that late documents on Mutapa-Changamire-Teve links are suspect for the reasons outlined above.[41] Isolated Teve rulers such as Chipute, Peranhe, and Bandarenhe are mentioned in documents of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries in connection with Portuguese activities,[42] and from the reign of the latter in the 1740s links can be made with documents on the extremely complex politics of Teve in the early nineteenth century; unfortunately it has proved impossible either to carry out a full documentary survey or collect traditions on this period.[43] One point of Teve politics is worth mentioning, however: unlike the Mutapa dynasty, the Teve rulers began with a dominion over both Shona- and non-Shona-speaking people, but ended up with a purely Shona territory. In the 1580s the Teve rulers claimed a vast jurisdiction over Sena-speaking people north-east of the Pungwe river as far as Tendenculo river some ten to twelve leagues south of the Zambezi mouth, but in 1644 these lands were granted to the great *prazo*-holder António Lobo da Silva as a result of intervention by his even greater father-in-law Sisnando Dias Bayão in a Teve succession struggle.[44] Henceforth the Teve rulers held a purely Shona-speaking area, roughly the triangle between the Pungwe, the Buzi, and the eastern highlands of the Plateau, and it was here that they had their *zimbabwe* and their small goldfields.[45]

Even less is known at present about the territory of Danda, lying south of the Buzi, which was first noticed by the Portuguese in 1516 when its ruler Nyamunda began to block the trade routes to Sofala. By the end of the century it was definitely independent of Teve if it had not been so before,[46] but its subsequent history remains obscure; by the nineteenth century little seems to have remained of it but a cluster of *moyo*-totem dynasties where the old dynasty had ruled.[47] As for the Shona near Inhambane bay, the documents of the sixteenth century that record the presence of Gambe and his fellow-Shona in Tonge are more of a puzzle than a help, since not only do they suggest that they came to the land in the time of Gambe's father who fled from a civil war in 'Bocoranga', the Mutapa state, but they do not definitely locate the land near the known *zimbabwe* of a much earlier vintage. It may be, therefore, that Gambe's people constituted a second Shona migration into the area.[48]

Finally, we come to the occupation of the southern part of the

eastern highlands by most of the dynasties of the modern Ndau-speaking people. Rennie's study has shown how the south-eastern highland dynasties can be divided into three main groups which arrived at different times; firstly the very early Nyakuimba-Musikavanhu-*dziva* group described earlier and a Garahwa *soko* dynasty to the south of it which was joined by a line of *soko* dynasties along the Buzi trade route to the sea; secondly the *tembo* dynasty of Mapungwana from Rimuka; and thirdly the *moyo* dynasties, which began to arrive round about the last half of the seventeenth century, and claimed to come from 'Mbire'.[49] At this point it is worth pointing out that, to the modern *moyo* Ndau, 'Mbire' means the lands of Mbire III now occupied the Svosve *soko* dynasty, whose great mountain of Wedza is just visible from part of the south-eastern highlands on a clear day. But in Mbire III itself it is clear that not only is there no justification for thinking that the land was called 'Mbire' any earlier than the mid-eighteenth century but that there was no *moyo* population there earlier.[50] Instead, it seems probable that the modern *moyo* Ndau are using 'Mbire' as a more general name, made famous by the conspicuous mountain, widespread *soko* migration from Mbire III, and the far-ranging Njanja hoe trade of more recent years, to indicate an area just to the north of it where traditions do indicate a large *moyo* element in the late seventeenth century: the central *moyo* nuclear area.[51]

This *moyo* migration, then, took place in the latter half of the seventeenth century over about 150-200 miles; working on the short-range migration theory put forward earlier, it would have taken at least twenty years to complete, and involved a certain amount of conflict. Rennie's work shows how this occurred. The *moyo* people killed the Nyakuimba leader at the cave centre of Rimbi, and a usurper from the north, Nyamsetwa, took over the land of Dondo. He assumed the *dziva* totem, however, and the rain-making component of the dynasty continued to operate under the Musikavanhu dynasty founded by Nyamsetwa. There was also conflict between the incoming *moyo* and Mapungwana's people. In Ngweme the *moyo* group under Chikukwa drove out an earlier dynasty under Makuwa. In the south, the existing Garahwa *soko* dynasty, which had been associated with the Nyakuimba group and with the line of *soko* dynasties that followed the Buzi river trade-route to the sea, came to terms with the newcomers and changed its totem to *moyo*. In general, therefore, the south-eastern highlands from the eighteenth century onwards were dominated

by the *moyo* dynasties headed by Mutema, but with important elements remaining from earlier settlements, all superimposed upon the basic peasant population that contributed the proto-Ndau dialects.

Most of the settlers of the south-east, or, at least, their rulers, who came from the *moyo* nuclear area were of the *moyo* totem themselves. But the northernmost of them, who settled in the land of Garwe north of the Nyanyadzi river, were under a *shumba*-group dynasty of the *bumphi* totem led by Mukonawanhu Muchara. The dynastic title was apparently always Mutambara, although it was so closely associated with a later ruler that he is claimed to have created it. South of the Nyanyadzi lay Nyamazha, which came under the *moyo*-totem Newushoma dynasty which was later known as Muwusha. Like Mutema's Sanga and Musikavanhu's Dondo, Nyamazha was divided into eastern highland and western valley dryland sections, the latter being most uninviting compared with the well-watered mountains. Those members of the dynasty who were unable to maintain themselves against the rest of their relatives in the highlands were forced to occupy the valley drylands, and from Nyamazha *moyo* families not only took up the valley on the east bank of the Sabi, but crossed the river. Thus Chiadzwa moved into the southern tip of Bocha, Chamutsa into the lowest part of Buhera, and some relatives of Chamutsa into the lands between the Nyazwidzi and Devure, higher up.

Sanga, under the Mutema *moyo* dynasty, dates from the reign of its founder Chiphaphami Shiriyedenga, who died in *1672 ± 44. The court was at Ngaone near a stone building which was, however, the work of an otherwise unrecorded Portuguese. Sanga was probably the richest of the *moyo* lands in the south-east. Apart from its considerable tract of high ground on either bank of the Tanganda, it had copper mines on its southern border with Dondo. Higher up the *moyo* settlers founded a number of much smaller political units alongside the Mafuse and Gogoyo *dziva* and Chimwoto *mbizi* dynasties dating from the earlier settlements. Saungweme of Ngweme, Ngorima of Hodi, Saurombe of Rombe, Makuyana and Gwenzi of Gwenzi were all *moyo* rulers living in the very highest parts of the mountains.[52]

iii. The eastern Shona between the Portuguese and the Shona states

The assertion of many historians that there was a Mutapa 'empire'

reaching down the coast to the hinterland of Sofala in the late fifteenth century was rooted in claims to this effect that were made by various Portuguese writers in the first half of the sixteenth century,[53] yet even by 1609 the objections to these statements had become obvious:

> None of these [kings], or any of those of whom we have spoken, pay tribute or do homage to Monomotapa, but on the contrary they are all free and independent, and some of them make war with Monomotapa as already stated. . . . And if at any time any of these things were as thus described [by chroniclers], which I greatly doubt, at the present day not even the memory of them remains.[54]

Thus João dos Santos, only a century after the Mutapa 'empire' over the eastern Shona was supposed to have been flourishing, recorded his doubts as to its very existence after having lived in Teve for some years, even though he himself had recorded a similar such claim elsewhere.[54] Indeed, if we look closely at the earliest Portuguese sources on which the chroniclers based their statements, it can be seen that no more than one contemporary document shows a Mutapa 'empire' over the eastern Shona that was actually functioning as it should, rather than being in 'rebellion'. How, then, did this myth arise? The answer seems to lie in a collusion of interests between the Mutapa state in the interior and the Portuguese.

In the first place, it must be remembered how Shona states functioned and how they related to gold production and trade, and in particular where the trade routes to the coast were located. We have already seen how both the rulers and the people depended upon being able to trade their half-shares of initial gold production for cloth and beads, and that the rulers expected, in addition, to benefit from the 5 per cent tax on imports and the presents offered by immigrant traders. On the other hand the mines were all in the interior, and it was possible for rulers on the trade routes to levy taxes of up to 15 per cent on goods in transit. Here lay the problem: if the coastal Shona rulers got too greedy, they would choke off the trade upon which rulers such as the Mutapa depended and it is clear from the documents that they frequently did so. This would, in the end, be to their disadvantage, but the temptation for the eastern Shona rulers to squeeze a little more from the *torwa* and the inlanders by taxation or robbery must often have been strong. From the point of view of such inland rulers as the Mutapa there were two possible solutions: they could

try to conquer the coastal people themselves, or they could come to an agreement with the main *torwa* power that controlled the shipping. There is evidence that both of these methods were tried by the Mutapa, and that this led to the myth of his 'eastern empire'.

It is clear from ibn-Madjid that the Zambezi-Sena-Quelimane route was already in use by the end of the fifteenth century, and early in the next century there was a 'Roro' or Lomwe state or territory whose ruler was concerned to keep the trade in his hands and to come to an accommodation with the Portuguese.[55] This ruler was safe from the power of the Mutapa for the good reason that he was north of the Zambezi, the 'enemy' that blocked the Mutapa's army. In response, the Mutapa could and did try to control the south bank of the river, and thus he attempted to rule the Lower Zambezi Tonga between Tete and Sena before *c.*1550. Similarly, down-river from the Tonga there were *mwenye* rulers near Sena and the Luabo mouth of the Zambezi who were still tributary to the Mutapa in the early 1570s, either because they feared attack by the Mutapa army or, more probably, because they were more sensitive to trade pressures than the Tonga. There was even a thin strip of territory that ran down to the sea between the Zambezi and the little Tendenculo river where the Sena-speaking Podzo lived that was still theoretically tributary to the Mutapa in the 1580s, but 'even his own vassals who reside there do not obey him, but live almost as people having no King'.[56] There were two basic reasons why this narrow corridor to the sea did not solve the Mutapa's trade-route problem. Firstly, a revolt such as that of the Lower Zambezi Tonga after *c.*1550 could sever most connections with the coastal end of the corridor, and secondly the corridor led only to the Luabo mouth of the Zambezi which, like the rest of the delta, has never proved a satisfactory port.[57] (It might be mentioned here that the crediting of the conquest of this corridor to the Matope figure is a recent guess; in 1862 Matope was said to have reached only as far as the Ruenya near Tete.[58])

This left the Mutapa with the port of Sofala as his only alternative to trading with the Roro, and only the difficulties mentioned above can explain the interest of successive Mutapas in the long overland trail round the northern end of the Inyanga plateau through Barwe, or the less-used route through the Manyika 'gap', to Sofala rather than the shorter water route to Quelimane. Again, there were problems for the Mutapas as far as conquest was concerned, problems of distance rather than natural barriers. We have

already seen that the Mutapa could raise large armies, but that they encountered problems in getting supplies a long way from home, unless they stripped the countryside bare. Moreover, since few Mutapa fighters were full-time soldiers, it was difficult to maintain a force in the field at a long distance for a long time. One solution to the problem would have been to settle a military leader and his men in the eastern Shona territory with their families, but such leaders were all too prone to rebel like the 'Sono' in 1516. The reference to the Teve ruler as the Mutapa's *capitão mor* in 1512 might reflect the presence of such a force and thus explain the Mutapa-Teve links in Shona traditions of later centuries, but this was the only document that suggested actual rather than theoretical Mutapa rule of the eastern Shona. Certainly the Mutapa armies were capable of reaching Manyika and Teve well into the latter half of the sixteenth century, and thus it is probable that at times these territories would have paid tribute, but the concept of an 'empire' of the Mutapa in the east seems to have other origins.[59]

We have already seen that the Portuguese visited Sofala a few times before they settled there in 1505, and that, given the good communications between the coast and the interior that would have followed the trade routes, the Mutapa would have realized the potential value of the Portuguese at Sofala as alternatives to the Roro-Quelimane route. It has also been shown how, within a year of the Portuguese settlement, traders and others from the Mutapa state had come to Sofala and convinced the Portuguese that the Mutapa was the overlord of the eastern Shona and master of all the gold-mines.[60] From 1506 until at least 1528 the Portuguese were to repeat this 'fact', while constantly lamenting that the eastern Shona had rebelled against their true master and were thus blocking the wealth that would otherwise flow to Sofala.[61] This was the view that was relayed to Barros and other chroniclers, but it was left to Santos to raise the question of whether the Mutapa had ever been the real ruler of the eastern Shona at all. It seems that the Mutapa 'empire' was founded by Mutapa propaganda.

On the other hand the myth, once rooted, was nourished by the Portuguese for quite other reasons. The Portuguese plans to invade the Mutapa state involved a surprising amount of legal 'justification' for the invasion, in which the 'crimes' of the Mutapa were spelt out.[62] But the Portuguese also had their eyes on the goldfields of Manyika, and Butua in the south-west. To some extent they tried to dig up similar 'crimes' committed by the Manyika rulers on the Portuguese traders, but they could not do this

for Butua because no Portuguese had been there.[63] Consequently, they tended to take another approach: by accepting earlier Mutapa claims at face value, that the Mutapa was overlord of Butua and Manyika, they had a justification for attacking either place.[64] This tendency was accelerated after the 1629 treaty with the Mutapa: by claiming that as many lands as possible were tributary to the Mutapa, the Portuguese had a justification for claiming the same privileges conferred by that treaty in these lands as well.[65] Thus, when they killed the ruling Chikanga of Manyika after the 1631 wars and installed his brother, they could claim that they were restoring Manyika to its proper allegiance,[66] and this sort of claim was to be repeated by the Portuguese at intervals right down to 1890.[67]

If the evidence for Mutapa domination of the eastern Shona is rather cloudy, the same is not true for the influence of the Portuguese. Here again, it is worth reconsidering all the economic factors that lay behind the Portuguese presence on the Plateau in the first place: the *shangwa*-threatened agricultural economy, the painful extraction of gold and ivory and the relative economic strengths of the Shona rulers and the Portuguese administration based on Moçambique. It is also worth bearing in mind the difference between what the Portuguese would have liked to achieve at different times, and what they actually did, and to remember the course of history in the Mutapa state; for the experiences of the eastern Shona and those of the northern Shona were amazingly similar as far as the Portuguese were concerned.

Very briefly, the period 1505-75 saw a gradual increase in numbers of Portuguese traders in areas such as Manyika and Teve where gold was to be had, and a corresponding decrease in the importance of the Muslims, but these were merely changes within the *torwa* community, and as long as this community was subject to the Chikanga and Teve rulers it carried out a vital function with no more than occasional friction. In 1575 the arrival of Homem's army at Sofala threatened this state of affairs, but in the end the threat was averted by economic realities: Homem fought his way through Teve, whose ruler was then hostile to Manyika and objected to the Portuguese exactions. He was welcomed by the Manyika, partly because he had just reduced the Teve ruler's power to exact taxes on the trade to Sofala and partly because they knew what Homem was to discover, that the mines were not suited to full-scale exploitation: Homem inspected the mines for nine days and came to the same conclusion. So all that came of

the Homem expedition in the end was that the Teve ruler paid a tribute in 1575 in order to get his captured family back, but within a very few years he was once again receiving his 250 *cruzados* a year from the Sofala Portuguese; Homem had been defeated by economics.[68]

From 1575 until the late 1620s matters reverted to normal, but the period of *c.*1620-95 saw the greatest Portuguese pressures upon the eastern Shona, for the same basic reasons as the equivalent pressure on the Mutapa state at the same time. The growth of the power of the Portuguese *prazo*-holders such as Diogo Simões Madeira in the north of the Plateau had its equivalent in the east. By seizing or being granted large territories with their attendant armies from or by the Shona rulers, and using their forces to intervene in Shona politics, such men as Sisnando Dias Bayão and António Lobo da Silva were able to extend their power to an amazing extent, largely because they were, as has been pointed out at length elsewhere, adapting to the realities of African society.[69] Thus the Chikanga war of the 1630s, the Teve war of 1644 and Silva's brief conquest of Barwe in about 1659 symbolized the power of the *prazo*-holders. Most of the criticisms made of the *prazo*-holders in the Mutapa state applied here too, and it was not always that a ruler could escape conquest by playing off one *prazo*-holder against another as Makombe did after 1659.[70] The enforced payment of a gold tribute by Manyika to the Sena Portuguese in this period symbolized this.[71] As in the Mutapa state, however, the *prazo*-holders were too successful for their own good, for by disrupting the delicate balance between an agricultural society's need to produce crops and its need for trade goods they ultimately destroyed their own chances to make profits. By the 1680s and 1690s the power of the *prazo*-holders was much reduced, and they were unable either to defeat the Changamire in Maungwe in 1684 or to hold Manyika against him in 1695. Thus, although there was a brief coup by José de Fonseca Coutinho in Teve in 1699,[72] the situation by the eighteenth century had reverted very much to the sixteenth-century pattern. A community of Portuguese *torwa* lived at the *feira* of Manyika as the virtual subordinates of the Chikanga, and if anything they were inclined to look to their old enemy the Changamire for support against the Chikanga: it was a Changamire army that guarded the reconstruction of the fort at the *feira* by Caetano Francisco Abranches da Costa in *c.*1780.[73] A few Portuguese *prazo*-holders operated in Teve, whose rulers retained a fair amount of independence until the early nineteenth century.[74] Teve seems to have ceased to be of real interest to the Portuguese in the eighteenth century, however, partly because the trade of Manyika was largely captured by Sena rather than Sofala, and partly because Teve began to use the trade routes of the advancing Tsonga to contact Inhambane and even Delagoa Bay.[75] The Sofala Portuguese tended to concentrate on *prazos* on the coast and in the old territory of Danda, and were not able to re-enter to exploit the little gold available until after the rivalry of various Teve factions from 1803 onwards made it possible.[76] An overriding factor in Portuguese relations with the eastern Shona after 1700 was the decline in trade as the goldfields of the Plateau were worked out.

To turn from the Portuguese to the second of the two Shona states to have influenced the eastern Shona after *c.*1500, the Changamire state, there is very little evidence. The Changamire Rozvi threatened Manyika and fought the Portuguese in Maungwe in 1684 and influenced a Maungwe succession crisis at about the same time.[77] They took Manyika in 1695 and, as suggested above, probably effected a change of dynasty, but after that there is practically no evidence for Rozvi power in Manyika, apart from the Changamire's collection of a tribute from the Portuguese of the *feira* in the early eighteenth century, the isolated appearance of a Rozvi force in *c.*1780 and the belief, not justified in the event, of the Manyika-based Portuguese in the 1790s that they could look to the Changamire for support against the Chikanga.[78] There is evidence that a short-lived tributary relationship between Mutema of Sanga and the Rozvi ended in the defeat of the latter by *c.*1729-35.[79] In short, the eastern Shona seem to have been as little affected by Changamire as by Mutapa power.

Up to about the early nineteenth century, then, the eastern Shona had escaped direct rule by any Shona, Portuguese or other, power for any period longer than a few decades, but this was not to last. In the 1820s the *mfecane* began to affect them: the same characters who moved across the stage of Mutapa history in the 1830s had already made their mark in the east. In 1827 the Ngoni leader Nxaba drove up the Sabi valley from the south, and swung east into Mutema's territory of Sanga. Mutema fought hard but was overcome by 'treason', after which Nxaba's people settled in Sanga and began the creation of a miniature Ngoni state. The local Shona were beginning to be incorporated into this nascent state, being given Nguni-style weapons and encouraged to join the Ngoni raids on Teve and even Sofala, which lasted until 1836. In

Manyika both the Chikanga-Mutasa's rule and the prosperity of the Portuguese *torwa* community's *feira* had been shaken by civil war and famine for some years back, and Nxaba's raiders struck in 1830, 1832, 1833, and 1835. These invasions, notably the one that destroyed the *feira* at Aruangwa in 1833, led to a twenty-year break in the Portuguese succession of Captains of the *feira*, but in fact this break was less dramatic than it looked simply because the *feira*, along with the Shona gold-mining industry, had already been in decline for years, and because the Portuguese revival was not to make itself felt until long after 1854. Nxaba's state in Sanga, however, was still-born: having helped the Ngwana Maseko Ngoni expel Zwangendaba from the Plateau, he fell foul of Soshangane's Gaza Nguni, was expelled from Sanga, and fled, first to Gorongosa and then to either Zumbo or the Changamire state on his way to final destruction in the upper Zambezi valley. Soshangane is said to have taken Nxaba's place in Sanga for two years, *c.*1836-8, but he then returned to the south, and it was not until considerably later in the century, in 1862, that the Gaza state was refounded in the south-eastern highlands proper. Gaza raiders were reaching the Sena area by 1844, but neither they nor Nxaba's Ngoni who preceded them were unlimited in numbers, and it seems probable that most of the traditions of Nguni raiding of the eastern Shona refer to the last half of the century, outside the scope of this book, rather than to the single decade in which Nxaba and Soshangane ruled Sanga.[80]

iv. Political and demographic pressures among the northern and eastern Shona: an overview

The history of the eastern Shona is important not merely because it shows the resilience of several political units over two or three centuries, but because, taken in conjunction with the history of the northern Shona, it offers some valuable clues as to the overall pattern of Shona history. Firstly, the eastern Shona traditions show a pattern of migration somewhat similar to the 'Guruuswa' movements of the northern and north-western Shona, carried out like them in several phases. Secondly, as the remaining three chapters of this book will show, there was a general pattern of migration from the northern and eastern Shona areas into the centre and south of the Plateau between the mid-seventeenth and mid-nineteenth centuries. A close study of the various pressures operating in the eastern and northern Shona area shows why this process occurred.

The earliest phase of expansion among the Shona of the east was that of the Zimbabwe culture, dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries and reaching all the way from Barwe to the Inhambane area. Only a few dynastic titles such as Makati, Mutwira, or Muponda can be very tentatively linked with the *zimbabwe* in question, and the only certain link was that of the Nyakuimba *dziva* dynasty with its *zimbabwe*. The second phase was from the Mutapa state area in the north towards the south-east, and included the ruling dynasties of Barwe, the Ruenya valley, Budya, Maungwe, the second Manyika dynasty, the *moyo* dynasties of the modern Ndau, and, it seems, Gambe's dynasty near Inhambane. The evidence for such a migration of the first Manyika dynasty and the Teve and Danda dynasties is too thin to be relied upon, but there seems to be little doubt about the consistency of the traditions of the others.

We must also consider the points of origin of the various dynasties that resettled the centre and south of the Plateau, as well as those that migrated into the eastern Shona area. The earliest eastern migrations — those to Barwe, the Ruenya valley, Budya, Maungwe, and the Inhambane area — all came from the Mutapa state area, either the Plateau segment of Mukaranga or the valley lowlands of Chidima, Mbire I, or Mungari. The later migrations in the same direction seem to have come from the Plateau itself — Rimuka, from which the Mapungwana and Chasura-Chirwa groups came, Mbire II from which the founder of the *tembo-shumba* Chikanga dynasty fled to Manyika, and the central *moyo* nuclear area from which the modern Ndau *moyo* dynasties came. Looking ahead to the movements that resettled the centre and south of the Plateau, it will be seen that although some points of origin such as 'Dzete' cannot be identified, most of them lay in the north and east of the Plateau: Mbire II, in the Mutapa state; Matukutu, Satwa, the central *moyo* nuclear area, Uzumba, and Fungwe on its southern fringes; Budya, Manyika, Teve, and the Dondo territory of Nyakuimba *dziva* and its neighbours. These were the main points cited in traditions, though Urungwe, Chipata, Maungwe, and Bocha all contributed one movement each. But the north and east of the Plateau were not the only sources of dynastic movements in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: surprisingly, Buhera gave rise to a number of movements, and there was a freak case of migration from South Shawasha, just south of Zimbabwe.

The dating of these movements, though obviously tentative in

a great number of cases, is of extreme importance. The movements to Barwe, Inhambane, and possibly Teve must have taken place no later than the beginning of the sixteenth century, and those to the Ruenya valley, Budya, and Maungwe can have been no later than the beginning of the next century, and probably earlier. The migrations of Mapungwana from Rimuka, the south-eastern highland *moyo* from the central *moyo* nuclear area, and the Chikanga *tembo-shumba* line from the Mutapa state can be dated with some certainty to the second half of the seventeenth century. The dating of the movements into the centre and south of the Plateau is in most cases much less certain, but it seems likely that the earliest were those of the Duma from Teve and the Changamire Rozvi from the central *moyo* nuclear area in the second half of the seventeenth century. Most of those in the centre and south can be shown to have taken place probably in the eighteenth and even in the first half of the nineteenth century. Such dates are nearly all calculated by generational dating going back to the death of the founder of the dynasty in its new home, so that the actual movement would have been earlier, but it should be borne in mind that few of the distances covered were greater than 200-250 miles, and at the standard migration rate suggested earlier in this book it would take no more than 20-25 years to carry out such a migration.

It should also be remembered that in the discussion of the 'Guruuswa' movements in Chapter 2 it was pointed out that, while such areas as the Mutapa state were occupied by 'Guruuswa' groups by the mid-fifteenth century at the latest, such areas as the Urungwe plateau were still being occupied in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In other words, the movement of Shona dynasties into the east and south-east of the Plateau from the Mutapa state area had already started before the 'Guruuswa' movements as such were complete. It should be noted, however, that the movements from the north and east back into the centre and south of the Plateau did not start until the 'Guruuswa' phase was almost complete: in other words, the evidence does *not* suggest that migrations of this kind were taking place in opposite directions at the same time. Rather, the effect is one of a great, slow spiral of movement, starting at Zimbabwe at some time in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and finally ending not very far from there in the nineteenth century.

To summarize some of the overall conclusions of this book before half the evidence on the centre and south of the Plateau has been offered is possibly to ask a great deal of the reader, but it is appropriate here because the evidence on the northern and eastern Shona, taken together, gives us a picture of the areas which the later migrants were leaving, and suggests why they should have done so. The story of these migrations into the centre and south will be impossible to understand unless these reasons are understood.

One striking feature of the history of the northern and eastern Shona was their experience with the Portuguese. It seems highly likely, for example, that the movement of the Mapungwana and Chasura-Chirwa dynasties from Rimuka was partly caused by such pressures as the war between Gonçalo João and António Roiz de Lima in the 1660s.[81] The Duma retain a strong tradition of having been oppressed by the Portuguese in Teve before they began their migration, and the foundation of the Chikanga *tembo-shumba* dynasty in Manyika, if the identification of Nyamubvambire with the Mutapa Nyakunembire is correct, certainly arose partly out of the Portuguese actions in Mukaranga.[82] The dating of the movement of the *moyo* dynasties into the south-eastern highlands from the central *moyo* nuclear area also coincides, more or less, with the movement of the Changamire Rozvi into the south-west, and it will be shown that this was closely connected with Portuguese activities. It has also been suggested that Portuguese pressures centred on the *feira* of Luanze near Budya may have led to some *shumba*-totem people accepting land within the Mutapa state in the time of the Mukombwe figure.

But it is impossible to explain all the migrations in this fashion, and for this reason it is not at all certain that Portuguese pressures were the only reasons for movement in the cases cited above. For one thing, some movements obviously occurred well before the Portuguese became a serious factor in Shona politics, or even before they arrived in the Indian Ocean. It has already been shown that before about 1600 in the north and about 1620 in the east the Portuguese were more or less integrated into Shona society as members of the *torwa* community, and it is therefore unlikely that they had anything to do with movements before those dates. It has also been shown that whereas the high point of Portuguese pressure was from the late 1620s to the 1660s, there was a decline in their influence afterwards which, except for the late 1680s and early 1690s, was to continue. It would therefore follow that, unless there is something fundamentally wrong with all southern

and central generational dates, it is difficult or impossible to explain migrations which were completed round about 1750-1850 in terms of Portuguese pressures of the mid-seventeenth century. But in any case, many of the areas that gave rise to migrations were well out of the way of the Portuguese: Bocha, Buhera, and the south-eastern highlands, for example.

If Portuguese pressures do not explain these movements, then there must have been other causes involved. Some of these are not difficult to find. The Makombe dynasty of Barwe, for example, had moved out of the Mutapa state area by the fifteenth century, and its totem *nguruve* was the same as that of many of the pre-Mutapa Tavara of the Zambezi valley. It is therefore quite possible that the Makombe line was pushed out of the Mutapa state into Barwe by the incoming Mutapa dynasty, rather than that it was granted the new land as Mutapa traditions suggest. Similarly, a feature of the eighteenth century in much of the central and southern Plateau was a series of migrations of *dziva*-totem people from Dondo who crossed the Sabi westwards in the opposite direction to that taken by their ancestor figure Nyakuimba. It does not take much imagination to see that this was not very long after the *moyo* dynasties had made their presence felt in the south-eastern highlands, and that there had probably been a conflict between the *dziva* and *moyo* peoples. Such inter-Shona disputes also occurred during the course of the resettlement of the south, with one or two recently settled groups being ejected by even more recent arrivals.

In many cases, however, there is no direct evidence at all to explain specific migrations, simply the tradition of movement from north to east or from north-east to the centre and south. And here we return once again to the problem of relative population pressures, caused by the sensitivity of the people's economy in terms of grazing and hunting ranges to a restricted environment. In other words, just as the Early and Later Iron Age and 'Guruuswa' expansions have been explained in terms of the willingness of the people to move to less 'crowded' land once they felt themselves to be suffering from a *relatively* overworked environment, so may these later movements. Hence, in the context of these factors, it is interesting to look at the case study of Manyika in the eastern Shona country.

It will be noted that, of the places named as points of origin for the migrations into the central and southern Plateau, most were located in areas of relatively high rainfall and good soils,

compared with the south and south-west of the Plateau, yet not all of them gave rise to emigration to the same extent. To take adjacent territories in the east, for example, the land of Maungwe sent out only one significant group at a fairly late date, that of Wozhere who moved to the north-eastern edge of the Changamire state proper; Manyika sent out two major and two minor groups, those of Chihota, Chirimuhanzu, Mapiravana *tembo*, and Shiku, apart from a more local settlement that will be described below; but Budya was responsible not only for the foundation of five dynasties in Urungwe and the upper Mazoe and Ruya valleys in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries but a group that eventually became a further nine dynasties in the central and southern Plateau in the early nineteenth. How can these differences be explained? The answer would seem to lie in the different natures of their territories. Maungwe, for example, was a large and fertile territory. With its headquarters on the western slopes of the Inyanga plateau and more or less unrestricted access to the land as far as the Mtanda range and the Macheke river, with, as far as can be told, relatively few other groups within it, the Makoni dynasty seems to have had less of a land problem than some others. Budya was at the other extreme; its climate was dryer, its territory smaller than that of Maungwe, and it stood so close to the edge of the Plateau that expansion to the north or east was pointless, while to the south and west ruled first the Changamire then the powerful Mangwende dynasty. It is not surprising that Budya sent out so many *shumba*-totem groups. The third territory, Manyika, however, is of interest not simply because it was an intermediate case, but because documents and archaeology of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries combine to support the evidence of traditions in giving a picture of population pressure.

Manyika had always been small in extent with its territory restricted between mountain ranges to the north and south and the powerful lands of Teve and Maungwe to the east and west, yet it contained many features that would encourage an expansion of its population of people and beasts. To begin with, it was fertile and well-watered, and the presence of the goldfields — no matter how limited in extent or difficult to work — gave it an extra asset. As we have already seen, gold could be traded for cloth or beads, cloth or beads could be converted into cattle, cattle could pay *rovora* for wives from other territories and wives gave birth to children. Thus, in the end, wealth from gold led to a population increase and to an increase in the herds of the people. The people

needed to be fed, and their herds needed grazing, and although Manyika was fertile it was not only small in size but a good deal of its ground was too steep and mountainous to be used. Thus Manyika had a problem, and this was becoming apparent by the end of the eighteenth century. By that time the population was estimated at 14,000 adults, and political subdivision had reached the point where there were 42 distinct wards.[83]

For such a problem there were several possible remedies, and Manyika's people tried most of them. One was simply to restrict the population by birth control and other means, which was one of the ways in which people as far back as the Stone Age had reconciled themselves to limited resources. According to a Portuguese writer in about the 1780s many Manyika women were taking medicines to avoid pregnancy, and judging from the fierceness with which a Manyika writer of the 1920s condemned infanticide it may have occurred more often than people cared to admit, especially in times of stress such as those described by João dos Santos much earlier.[84] But for reasons that have already been pointed out poor people could not afford to practise birth control when they depended on the labour of their children for their support in old age or on the *rovora* paid for their daughters; other solutions therefore had to be found.

One of these would have been technical development or intensive cultivation that would have enabled more people to live off the resources of the same land. Unfortunately, no such development could take place with the technology that was available. The gold was being worked out as far down as the water-table, and Manyika rulers were more likely to curtail production so as to keep the gold-mines operating for a little longer rather than to work them out suddenly, as the complaints of less far-sighted Portuguese traders bear witness.[85] As for agriculture, although Asian and American crops such as rice and maize were adopted, neither for various reasons had supplanted the much older grains as the basic crop: because there was often not enough flat, wet land for rice and because there were problems encountered in stamping the maize, an exceptionally dry grain. Consequently, it was not possible to do a great deal to increase agricultural production.

The other possible solution was an extension of development, and this involved either the use of previously ignored lands within the territory, or the extension of the territory itself, or the ultimate possibility, emigration. Manyika did not lend itself to the use of more lands within the territory — until eventually this was forced

by twentieth-century politics — because of the rocky and steep slopes that were involved. Emigration was adopted, to a certain extent, but the most important method was the extension of the territory. In the event, this was only possible in one direction, to the north. To the east and west Teve and Maungwe proved too powerful to be conquered, though there were repeated wars with Maungwe as the nineteenth century wore on which might well have had their roots in Manyika land pressures.[86] To the south the Vumba range offered a possible field for expansion, but the Manyika were forestalled by a branch of the *soko/vudzijena* Mbire who broke away from Mbire III in the central Plateau soon after its foundation and took over the land of Jindwe in the Vumba range under the Zimunya dynasty, probably in the mid-eighteenth century.[87] The people of Bocha seem to have been protected by the Mtanda range and the fast-flowing Odzi river, and this left the Manyika with no recourse but to turn north, to the Inyanga plateau.

The Inyanga plateau is famous nowadays for its beauty and grandeur, but from the point of view of the ordinary people of the Later Iron Age it was much less appealing. The original environment had been one of mountain forest, but this had been cleared away by human settlement long ago, and the result was that the hillsides were left with only thin soils and coarse grasses. Consequently, by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Inyanga plateau was no longer as attractive as it looked, and was not the first choice of any agricultural people. Nevertheless, by about the seventeenth century it had been occupied by a part of the Sena-speaking Tonga people of Barwe. Their language was the original one of the plateau, and survives to this day on its northern side, while their pottery, distinct from that of the Shona-speakers of the Plateau as a whole, was left in many villages that were sited on the Inyanga plateau itself and in a wide area of lower ground to the west. These villages were of two main kinds, and either comprised huts sited in a circle on an artificial platform around a stone-faced pit for the animals, or huts grouped together inside a loopholed stone fort, or a combination of the two. Such villages were guarded by stone lookout posts on nearly every hilltop, and it is clear that the villagers were very much threatened by raiders from the lowlands around the plateau, probably from Barwe, Manyika, Maungwe, and perhaps Budya. For this reason they dared not use the valleys, but instead cultivated the slopes of the mountains, making terraces with the stones they were forced to clear from the fields and irrigating them by means of furrows that

carried water long distances from the streams. Since the soils were not particularly fertile and the villagers had to clear new fields fairly often, it was not long before the Inyanga area was covered by miles of terracing. Impressive as this looked, however, it was the work of people who had been driven to make use of a basically unattractive agricultural environment, and they were desperately poor, as the remains of their villages show us. This was the culture of losers, and when it ended it was replaced by its Shona counterpart.

The modern dynasties of the Inyanga plateau record the names of their predecessors as Dumbwi of Nyamhuka, Mandigora of Bonda, and Sakarombe of Karombe, all Sena-speaking groups and of the same stock as Sawunyama, Tawungwena, and Katerere on the northern end of the plateau. Since they were conquered by the Manyika in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and the radiocarbon dates for the Inyanga Upland culture range from about 1650 to about 1800, it follows that they were the rulers of the forts and pit-villages and it is possible that Manyika raids were responsible for many of the defensive structures. The Manyika conquest of Inyanga was a gradual process, and involved houses both inside and outside the ruling house of Govera. For various reasons they had failed to maintain themselves in the struggle for power and land in Manyika itself and therefore chose or were forced to undertake the conquest of the inhospitable Inyanga plateau and its inhabitants.[89] This was in effect a colonization of Manyika's hinterland by the Manyika, and it led to an extension of the area covered by the Shona language, for the Manyika dialect of the conquerors was sufficiently affected by the Sena dialect of the original people to form a new, hybrid dialect cluster, Nyanga. Even so, not every group which moved out of Manyika into Inyanga chose to stay there, and some resorted to the option of emigration: thus, as late as the 1850s the *shumba*-totem members of the Chirimuhanzu dynasty of the southern Plateau, descended from the Govera house of the Chikanga-Mutasa dynasty of Manyika, were still speaking a dialect that contained many traits of Nyanga.[90] Neither the Manyika of Inyanga nor their migrant relations in the south of the Plateau recall much of this relatively recent conquest, but there is no doubt from archaeology and linguistics as to when and where it occurred; this is simply yet another reminder that traditions do not give us the full story. To conclude, the examples of Manyika and the conquest of Inyanga show us how far population pressures were behind the Shona resettlements.

CHAPTER 6

The Torwa and the South before 1650

i. Problems of Torwa history

The history of the Torwa state before 1650 presents some remarkable problems. We know where it was, we know when it rose and when it fell, we know about its architecture, its economy, and its material culture, and we know something about its relations with the Mutapa state and the Portuguese. Yet we know next to nothing about its internal history. We cannot even be positive that the name 'Torwa' (stranger, foreigner) was the real title of its ruling dynasty. Only a few families can be positively identified as having been members of the ruling class of the Torwa state, and so far they have provided no reliable histories of the Torwa state period. This lack of knowledge need not surprise us. In the south-western end of the Plateau, five state systems have succeeded each other. The first was that of the Zimbabwe culture, which in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries reached into the west to build a number of *zimbabwe*. The second was the Torwa state, based on Khami, a south-western successor to the Zimbabwe culture between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. Then came the Changamire Rozvi state, which took over the Torwa state and culture in the late seventeenth century and survived well into the nineteenth century. The fourth state was that of the Ndebele, which took over the existing Rozvi state, but added a very considerable increase of population and consequently was able to impose a new language and culture. Finally came the Rhodesians, who not only destroyed the Ndebele state but forced major movements of population, which incidentally did much to destroy traditions in that area of the pre-Ndebele past.[1] In such circumstances we are perhaps fortunate in knowing as much as we do about the second of these five states.

Much of the same problem applies to the Shona-speaking population of the south as a whole, before 1650. The south of the Plateau was almost completely resettled between 1650 and 1850,

mostly by dynasties bearing the ethnic and national name of 'Karanga' from the north and east, but also by Tsonga, Venda, Sotho, and Kalanga from the south-east and south-west. Hence we can do little more than indicate the identity of the original inhabitants of this area with almost no chance of recording their internal histories. The area occupied by the speakers of the Kalanga dialects — the descendants of the original Shona inhabitants of the area west of the Umzingwani, the Leopard's Kopje culture — has suffered a different fate. Although the rise of the Ndebele to the north-east, of the Ngwato to the south-west, and of the Transvaal Sotho to the south has cut back the original Kalanga area of settlement, they still survive. But their position between the better-known states and peoples on either side of them has meant that they have been almost totally neglected historically, and so far there is virtually no traditional evidence available on the Kalanga that could illumine their history before 1650, or indeed, before 1800. Because part of the resettlement of the south between 1650 and 1850 was carried out by Venda dynasties, and because the dynasties now ruling the Venda and Lovedu originated among the Shona, this study does not stop on the Limpopo, and a very brief explanation of the relationships between the Shona and the southern peoples is given.

The historical sequence proposed here — the replacement of the Torwa dynasty after 1650 by the Changamire dynasty from the central *moyo* nuclear area in the north-east — clashes with the archaeological sequence as it is understood at present. This sequence shows an unbroken continuum in the Khami culture between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries. Yet the documentary and traditional evidence concerning the change is so strong that it seems that the archaeological evidence is incomplete. In this chapter the complete archaeological sequence of the Khami culture and all available historical data on the Torwa will be discussed, while the Changamire immigration and conquest of the Torwa will be given in detail in the next.

The environment and history of the south have affected the traditions of its peoples very strongly. As mentioned earlier, the fact that the Shona-speaking peoples dominated most of the Plateau did not necessarily mean that they thought of themselves as a single people or that their main contacts were each other rather than with outsiders. Thus, as we have seen, the history of the Karanga of the north and east before 1650 was linked closely with the peoples and trade routes between them and the sea. There is

not much evidence to show that the Karanga then paid a great deal of attention to their fellow-Shona to the south-west, even when one has allowed for the bias of Portuguese sources. The southern Shona seem to have been strongly oriented towards the south in a similar fashion, for reasons connected with their environment. South and east of the southern end of the Plateau, the land drops from 3,000 to below 1,000 feet, and the annual rainfall also drops, to as little as sixteen inches in some areas. The natural result of this is that the population of the lowveld has always been sparse and concentrated around the available watercourses and springs. Paradoxically, this has actually improved the southern Shona peoples' knowledge of the south, for anyone seeking to trade, work, or settle in the south has been forced to travel a long way, at least as far as the Zoutpansberg, before reaching his goal. The traditions of the southern Shona record frequent movements from one side to the other of this dryland 'ocean', the last major example being the flight of the Venda ruler Mphephu and his people from the Zoutpansberg to Belingwe in 1898 and their return in 1901.[2] As a consequence of this, the southern Shona people appear to have been as sensitive to peoples and events to the south of them as to equivalent events among their own compatriots to the north. For example, Sicard pointed out that the Belingwe Shona would call any Shona-speakers 'Sotho' if they came from the south-west, regardless of their true origins, because it was known that the Sotho lived in that direction.[3] Apart from the well-known movements of Shona into the Venda and Lovedu countries, there may even be some truth in Lemba and Shawasha claims to have visited the Zulu area in the course of their metal-working and medicine-selling careers.[4]

The *mfecane*, too, left its mark on southern Shona traditions. The Ngoni, Ndebele, Gaza, and Kololo groups of Nguni and Sotho from the south enjoyed tremendous prestige during the nineteenth century, and the exaggerated respect accorded these 'military' nations by Europeans in the twentieth century further encouraged less favoured peoples to benefit from a claimed association with one of the 'prestige' groups. Thus both the Tsonga and the Ndau-speaking Shona called themselves 'Shangaans' after the Gaza ruler Soshangane.[5] Sometimes, as in the case of Wedza and Mazeteze's Dumbuseya, who were briefly associated with a passing Ngoni group in the 1830s, there was a grain of justification for this sort of claim.[6] In most cases, however, the claim of southern origins is obviously untrue: apart from the claim itself, the claim-

ants can supply no supporting evidence, and there is often contradictory evidence. Thus a Hera informant of Mutekedza's line might claim descent from 'Shaka Zulu', although the Hera traditions in general — and even his own traditions — do not support this at all.[7] Similarly, a Gumunyu Rozvi tradition traced Rozvi origins from Biblical Nineveh to Durban, Johannesburg, and a prestigious southern origin.[8] Moreover, Shona culture over 800 years is remarkably free of the kind of outside influences one would expect to find if such movements from outside had been as common as these traditions suggest.

ii. The archaeology of the Khami culture

As we have seen at the height of the influence of the Zimbabwe culture, communities of this culture moved west to settle in the mountains fringing the south of the Plateau and on the south-western part of the Plateau itself. Outlying *zimbabwe* such as Umtwarte, Chumnunga, and Mtoli were built, and this expansion of the Zimbabwe culture westwards was probably as important as the much better-known expansion to the north of the plateau. But the most significant cultural development in the west took place as Zimbabwe was declining. As Zimbabwe ceased to be a major centre, the focal point of its culture moved west. We do not know whether the rulers of Zimbabwe led this movement, or whether some of the ruling group broke away to found a new centre, leaving the old ruler to live in a rapidly diminishing state, or whether a western provincial ruler established his independence and became the focus of new development. Archaeology gives us no definite idea of the terminal date of Zimbabwe as an occupied site, except that it ceased to be a major centre by about 1500. Sterile deposits on the hill show that this part of the complex at least was abandoned completely, although the presence of two sherds of blue-and-white porcelain in an unstratified deposit confirm that the site was at least visited later. Barros' famous account, collected by Vicente Pegado at Sofala before 1538, was probably that of someone who only saw the buildings from a distance, far enough away to mistake the Hill walling for a tower and the Great Enclosure's shape for a square. His claim that it then lay within the jurisdiction of the Torwa state was probably correct.[9] As we will see, by the seventeenth century the nearest neighbours of the deserted buildings were minor dynasties such as that of NeGwadzi.

The culture that emerged in the west at the time of Zimbabwe's fall was in every way the true heir to Zimbabwe, much more so than that of the Karanga in the north, but it was not content simply to duplicate the features of the older centre. The new culture that was founded at Khami developed the stonework styles of Zimbabwe in a new way. The same principle of using naturally breaking granite was used, but it was applied to the construction of *daga*-covered stone platforms on hilltop sites. Huts were then constructed on the platforms. Added to the old technique of stone-building was a new insistence on decoration and a search for new patterns. The specialized pottery of Zimbabwe was developed in both style and decoration. A feature of some of the new buildings was a covered passage that may have developed out of the succession of outer walls of the Valley buildings at Zimbabwe, which eventually produced concealed passages, or even out of the natural features of the ascent to the Hill building above.[10]

The earliest and greatest of the new culture's centres was Khami. This was built some time after a date of about 1410, and included old posts dated at about 1370 and 1430. Certainly it would seem logical that such a large building so similar to Zimbabwe would have been built relatively soon after the establishment of the Khami culture; the suggestion that Khami was not built until 1700 would leave a strange two-century gap in major construction in the south,[11] and all other evidence suggests that Khami was most probably a sixteenth-century building. The Chinese porcelain recovered from the upper levels of Khami could have arrived during the last decades of that century.[12] Khami was by no means the only building of the Khami culture. There were many other such structures, especially in the river valleys on the south of the plateau, west of the Lundi.[13] One example was Chamabvefva, which has been radiocarbon dated to the sixteenth century, and which had both stonework and pottery that was transitional between the Zimbabwe and Khami styles, and another building has been dated to about 1530-1610.[14]

The imported porcelain found in the *latest* occupation levels at Khami was of the Wan Li period, which ended in 1619, and it seems probable that Khami was abandoned as a major site by the end of the seventeenth century.[15] The reasons for this could have been environmental or even political. The traditions stating that the Rozvi Mambo continued to rule at Khami either come from the dissident Mutinhima house of the Rozvi, which latterly lived in the Mulungwane hills not far from Khami, or were collected as

late as the 1940s and 1950s, whereas a much more reliable set of traditions collected from Rozvi in the south-west in the 1900s makes it clear that in the eighteenth century Khami was in the territory of the Kalanga ruler Ndumba, the main Rozvi capitals being east of the Bembesi.[16]

The successor to Khami as a capital site was probably Danangombe, now called Dhlodhlo. Danangombe was a large site, and since the imported pottery found in its lower level was the same as that in Khami's upper level, it seems likely that it was later than Khami. The stonework also shows a development from the style used at Khami. The nearby Naletale building also shows this advanced style, but it was very small with a poor water supply and was probably no more than an outlier of Danangombe. Manyanga, now called Tabazikamambo, was possibly one of the last of the Changamire capitals in the nineteenth century, during the *mfecane*, but it may also have been an old site that was briefly reoccupied during the last crisis of the Rozvi state; on the other hand, the traditions that claim that it was a capital may be incorrect.[17]

The Khami culture ruins have been classified by Garlake into large platforms, enclosures, and very small platforms. In general the style of stonework was the same, but with some important exceptions that will be discussed below. To these classes can be added the non-granite buildings, one in the Umsweswe valley, some in the lower Gwai valley and others in the Zoutpansberg. The first two groups of these clearly belonged to the Khami culture in style and were only different in so far as the local stone did not permit the elaborate effects possible with granite. The second and third groups are clearly associated in traditions with movements of dynasties from the Khami culture area, the Nambiya and Singo dynasties.[18]

The most important aspect of the Khami culture that affects us here is its identification with the 'Rozvi'. This was established on the following basis: the Changamire Rozvi dynasty was known to have lived at the Khami-culture centres up to the nineteenth century, and the prestige pottery claimed by the Changamire Rozvi as theirs was found at all levels in the Khami-culture buildings.[19] Yet the documentary and traditional evidence suggests that the Torwa dynasty commenced the Khami culture and ruled the south-west until the late seventeenth century when the Changamire Rozvi came out of the central *moyo* nuclear area and took over the

whole area and its culture. This change does not appear to be reflected in the archaeological record, and thus the traditional and documentary evidence clashes with the archaeological evidence.

The full answer will appear when there is a complete archaeological record for the whole country, but there is sufficient evidence to suggest one or two points that must be borne in mind in the meantime. Firstly, there is no doubt that the same pottery type was used from the beginning of the Khami culture up to the fall of the Changamire dynasty in the nineteenth century. The 'prestige' pottery of Zimbabwe developed into the highly coloured, tall-necked band-and-panel pottery that was found at most Khami sites[20] and which was the hallmark of the Khami culture.[21] A single sherd at Rusvingo ra Kasekete in the Mutapa state could relate to the presence of a Changamire force there in the war of 1702.[22] Other such pottery found at Murahwa's hill near Manyika in conjunction with an eighteenth-century import can be explained by the presence of a Changamire army near Manyika in 1780.[23] Khami-type sherds of a sort were found near Bedza hill in Buhera, one of the places held by the Changamire dynasty against the Ndebele in its retreat to the Sabi in the 1850s and 1860s.[24] and Jiri's section of the Changamire dynasty in Bikita identified Khami pottery as their own in the early twentieth century, at a time when such pottery would be still remembered.[25]

Secondly, the crucial area in which archaeological evidence for the changeover from the Torwa to the Changamire dynasty must be sought is not around Khami but east of the Bembesi at Danangombe, Naletale, and Manyanga, where the traditions of the Changamire Rozvi locate the Changamire capital. Danangombe, indeed, does show a change of a sort, but it cannot yet be shown that this was due to the arrival of a new dynasty. Caton-Thompson believed that there had been a major reconstruction of an older building, which was replaced by the elaborate walling seen today on the lower terraces. Two occupation levels existed on the terrace. On the lower level a woman was buried. Her body had been reduced to a skeleton after death, and then her bones had been burnt. She had been a wealthy woman and was buried not only with her pots, large reddish-brown spherical pots of the Khami culture's common ware, but also with an imported Chinese bowl and a Dutch gin bottle. These two articles were dated to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries, a dating that was satisfactory enough when used to establish that the Khami culture was relatively recent and not of exotic origin, but which is tantaliz-

ingly inexact when the question of a dynastic change at this very time is considered. It would be of great value if a re-examination of these articles could be made, so that the earliest possible date of their manufacture could be known. Some time after the woman's death, a major reconstruction occurred. A new occupation floor was built, on top of the old grave site, and elaborate walling was constructed. Khami style band-and-panel pottery was used on the upper level.[26] A noteworthy feature of Danangombe was that the uppermost levels of stonework were in a much rougher style than the lower, decorated levels. The same was true at the nearby Zinjanja ruins, while both Danangombe and Naletale had additions built outwards from the main structure in this rough style.[27]

A third point that must be considered is the function of band-and-panel pottery in the Khami culture. As at Zimbabwe, the prestige pottery of Khami that was found in the ruling-class dwellings was used to keep liquids, possibly water but more probably beer. This does not mean that the rulers of the Khami culture lived entirely upon beer, but rather that, since a Khami-culture centre like Zimbabwe was a specialized version of a large Shona village, the main cooking was not done in the living-huts. In fact, band-and-panel pottery was not the only style used at Khami, the pots found in the Danangombe burial being of a more common kind.[28]

Some tentative suggestions can be made to attempt to piece together the points made above. Firstly, it is not suggested that the Changamire conquest of the Torwa state was a major invasion, involving wholesale killing or the destruction of the state. Far from it, the traditions and documents suggest that it was quick and easy. When it is remembered that pottery-making was the task of women, and that Changamire traditions are explicit that there was intermarriage between the Changamire dynasty and the Torwa-state families of Tumbare and Chihunduru, and that the adoption of a Kalanga dialect by the Changamire dynasty confirms this, it seems quite possible that the tradition of making band-and-panel pottery could continue unbroken.[29] The Changamire dynasty, after all, was Shona like the Torwa dynasty, and even shared rather remote common origins in the Zimbabwe culture, and so it was much more capable of taking over and making use of an existing state and its special pottery and buildings than the foreign Ndebele were able to do in the same situation. When a complete common-ware pottery sequence for the Khami culture at Danangombe is established, it should be possible to see whether there is any intrusive element of seventeenth-century *moyo*-area pottery

that could be attributed to Changamire women living alongside the Torwa wives of the Changamire himself.

Secondly, the rougher stonework at Danangombe, Naletale, and Zinjanja could represent the work of the Changamire dynasty or even its prisoners. A Portuguese document recalled that Changamire's Portuguese prisoners from the wars of the 1690s were

> those who had only the obligation to look after the Palace of the King, in its repair and upkeep, which Palace is only called thus through being the residence of the King, when it is not a House or Chupana, which could be planned by the skill of a man who has not seen the civilized world.[29]

If this means that men from the Portuguese *feiras* whose knowledge of building was limited to houses in adobe brick were made to add to the original Torwa structures, it could account for the poorer style of the later building.[30] Changamire traditions also tend to claim that the Rozvi added to the buildings, making outlying cattle enclosures, rather than that they built the whole structures themselves.[31] But there are other possible explanations for the poorer style of some of the stonework. There may have been a shortage of granite suitable for splitting on the sites concerned, forcing the builders to use less suitable stone. Moreover, even when Zimbabwe was at its height as a centre and both the hill and valley were occupied, its builders did not hesitate to use rough stone for a perimeter wall and an enclosure. Alternatively, the changing economic conditions of the eighteenth century and the occasional civil wars may have made it more difficult for the Changamire rulers to finance the talents of the old Torwa state in addition to the buildings. In the end, the need for defence against the Nguni in the *mfecane* led to the final abandonment of formal stonework and to the building of rough defensive walls.[32]

In short, the archaeological problem posed by the traditional and documentary evidence on the conquest of the Torwa state by the Changamire dynasty may not be as daunting as it at first appears. On the one hand it seems that the archaeological evidence is not yet complete while on the other hand it may be found that the type of change implied by the evidence, where one political and cultural institution is taken over by a related people, does not show itself in the archaeological record to the extent that was previously believed. Comparative archaeological studies of known changes of this kind, not necessarily all African, could perhaps help us here.

iii. The rise and fall of the Torwa state, 1450-1683

We have already seen that the expanding Karanga dynasties of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries called the higher part of the Plateau from whence they had come, 'Guruuswa' or land of tall grass, since the higher areas contained more open, grassy spaces than the wooded valleys that ran down to the Zambezi. The direction of 'Guruuswa' naturally depended upon the direction of the high ground from the standpoint of the Karanga people involved. Some Shona dialects rendered 'Guruuswa' as 'Gunuuswa', 'Gunuvuhwa' and 'Gunuvutwa', and it seems possible that the latter version, used by the Tavara- and Nyungwe-speaking people encountered by the Portuguese in the Zambezi valley on their way to the Plateau, was adopted by them and shortened in documents to 'Butua' or 'Abutua'.[33] Certainly the general use by the Portuguese of the term 'Butua' corresponded to the idea of 'Guruuswa'. 'Butua' was generally described as being to the south and west of the Portuguese trading posts in the north and east, and specifically in the direction of the higher ground from the standpoint of the Portuguese writer concerned. Thus to Fernandes it lay 'beyond' the land of Mbire II in the Mutapa state, which he had approached by a curving route through the Zambezi valley, so that it was almost certainly to the south.[34] Santos, admittedly, placed it to the north-west of Manyika, but also south-west of the Mutapa state.[35] Conceição, having mentioned the *feira* on the Angwa and another nearby at Chitomborwizi, placed 'Butua' 'beyond' the latter.[36] Barros, referring to the geography of the whole southern Zambezian region, saw 'Butua' as adjoining the 'vast plains' of the Sabi-Limpopo lowveld.[37] In each case the writer was more or less following the Shona environmental concept of 'Guruuswa', as did all the other Portuguese writers who located it vaguely to the south and west of the areas they knew.[38]

But the Portuguese were interested in more than geography. Their prime interest in geography and ethnography was their use in the discovery of wealth in one form or another and of a ruler through whose offices they could obtain it. Thus, although they knew that all the ruling dynasties of the north of the Plateau were called Karanga, they used the name 'Mukaranga' to mean the Mutapa state proper, probably because they saw the Mutapa state as the focal point of all the economic and political power of the Karanga. In just the same way, a Portuguese writer could refer to the disunited Tonga people of the lower Zambezi valley as forming an

'empire', as though by imposing unity on paper Portugal could benefit from it in practice.[39] Similarly, they tended to concentrate upon the most important of the dynasties in 'Butua', even though it was sometimes acknowledged that 'Butua' was made up of many lands.[40] And to the Portuguese the most important part of 'Butua' was the richest, the part where the gold was. Given the Portuguese knowledge of the goldfields of the Mutapa state, Manyika and Rimuka in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the only major cattle-rich gold-bearing area that corresponded to their 'Butua' was the south-western part of the Plateau, the area occupied during that period by the people of the Khami culture. We can therefore be certain that when the Portuguese wrote of a major state of 'Butua' in the south before 1700, they were in fact referring to the state centred on Khami. As for the later centuries, the identification is positive, since after 1683 the Changamire dynasty was regularly described as being in 'Butua', and we have clear traditional evidence that the Changamire ruled latterly from the centres of the Khami culture.

The rulers of the state of Butua 'all are called Toroa by name', wrote an unknown Portuguese in 1683, shortly before the fall of the state to the Changamire dynasty.[41] It is clear from this account as well as from those of Barros in the sixteenth century, Macedo in 1633, and Conceição in 1696, that the Torwa dynasty and not the Changamire dynasty ruled the Khami culture area in the sixteenth and most of the seventeenth centuries.[42] No document links the Changamire dynasty with the south-west before 1685,[43] and there is very strong evidence showing that until then the Changamire dynasty was based in the central *moyo* nuclear area in the north-east. This point is important for a number of reasons. For one thing, the wars between Changamire, the Mutapa, and the Portuguese assume a new significance when it is realized that in the 1690s the Changamire was a relative newcomer to the south. For another, the relations between the Changamire dynasty and the Karanga people who resettled the south in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are much easier to understand when one realizes that the Changamire conquest of the Torwa state was actually the first of these movements.

At the capital site of Khami the Torwa developed a new culture, expressed in the prestige and stone buildings that were descended from those of Zimbabwe. Like Zimbabwe, the Torwa state based on Khami was ultimately reliant upon the efforts of its people working in the fields and herding their cattle, but like Zim-

babwe it made use of the available resources in the form of goldfields. Portuguese documents also stress the role of cattle herds in the wealth of the state.[44] Since the Changamire successors of the Torwa came to speak the basic population's Kalanga dialect, it is safe to assume that the Torwa dynasty spoke Kalanga as well.[45]

The name 'Torwa' means 'stranger, foreigner', and it might be supposed that this was not the real name of the ruling dynasty. But in 1925 the *moyo* Rozvi ruler Mbava — a man of a different lineage from that of the Changamire dynasty but closely associated with them — claimed, apparently spontaneously, that Zimbabwe was the work of a Rozvi ruler named 'Togwa'.[46] The details given of the achievements of 'Togwa' fell into the general tradition about the Rozvi as a group, but the fact that this name was remembered suggests that there really was a dynasty of this name. In 1958 the medium of the Mutota *mhondoro* spirit, again apparently spontaneously, claimed that Torwa and Changamire were relatives of Mutota, the founder of the *nzou-samanyanga* Mutapa dynasty.[47] This also supports the evidence of the Portuguese documents as to the existence of the Torwa dynasty, even if the relationships given are incorrect, as they almost certainly are. Mutapa-oriented informants, whether in the sixteenth or the twentieth century, tended to see everybody as subordinates and relatives of the Mutapa. In the case of the Torwa state this claimed relationship is even more unlikely when it is realized that whereas the Torwa dynasty came directly from Zimbabwe, the Mutapa dynasty probably developed out of the northern outliers of the Zimbabwe state. The totem of the Torwa remains unclear, but vague traditions about a line of *soko* Mambos could refer to them.[48] Alcáçova wrote in 1506 that the Torwa was related to the Changamire dynasty, but neglected to mention whether this was a blood or marital relationship.[49]

Mutapa-oriented sources in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries often claimed that the Torwa state was tributary to the Mutapa dynasty. This is contradicted not only by other, similar sources at the same time,[50] but also by the archaeology of the two states. It is clear that in terms of material culture the Khami culture was wealthier than the Mutapa state, and even if they had not been separated by great distances it is unlikely that the latter could have dominated the former. The Torwa state, in fact, first comes to the notice of historians as the enemy of the Mutapa. In *c.*1494, when the Mutapa Chisamarengu regained his father's throne from the first Changamire, whom he killed, the son of the

latter continued the war. The Torwa ruler, as kinsman of the Changamire line, came to the aid of his northern relative, reproaching the Mutapa for Changamire's death and threatening to kill him. The war went on until after 1512, when Fernandes learned in the Mutapa state that the ruler of 'Butua' was as great as the Mutapa and always at war with him. After this there was nothing more heard of the Mutapa-Torwa war, which probably petered out when the final defeat of the Changamire dynasty in *c.*1547 removed its original cause.[51]

We know practically nothing about the Torwa state from the early sixteenth and up to the 1640s. Barbosa, Barros, Monclaro, Couto, Santos, Barretto de Rezende, and many others all mentioned it as a state to the south and west of the lands touched by the Portuguese, some claiming that it was tributary to the Mutapa, some mentioning its wealth in cattle and all mentioning its gold. Barros did mention that the ruler of Torwa was also called 'Burrom' or Boroma, apparently the only personal name of a Torwa ruler that we know, but in general these accounts gave no new information.[52] But in the seventeenth century the increasing power of the Portuguese *prazo*-holders began to be felt in the interior. We have already seen how they affected the Mutapa state and the eastern Karanga lands, and the visit of a Portuguese to 'Butua' before 1633 was the precursor of an increasing involvement of the Khami-culture area in the affairs of the north and east in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[53] Nevertheless, the initiative that led to the first major stage of this involvement came not from the Portuguese but from the Torwa dynasty itself.

The seventeenth century saw the virtual eclipse of the *mwenye* (Shona-speaking Muslims), in the areas influenced by the Portuguese, so that they retained their economic importance only further inland, in lands such as Maungwe and in the Torwa state.[54] The Portuguese nevertheless tended to see these Muslim traders as manipulators of Shona policy, and they believed that the cause of the civil war in the Torwa state in the 1640s lay in the discovery by the Torwa ruler that the Muslims who supplied him with cloth had concealed from him the existence of the Portuguese trading posts in the north and east. Given the fact that the trade between the Khami area and the coast was so long-established, this seems highly unlikely. The real reason for the civil war, in which the ruler killed many Muslims, was probably a rivalry between him and his younger brother, who was allied by marriage to a powerful Muslim *xerife*. The elder ruler was driven out of the

state, and fled to Manyika where in 1644 he gained the aid of one of the greatest of the early *prazo*-holders, 'Mossuampaca', Sisnando Dias Bayão. Bayão had just won a victory over the ruler of Teve, and was prepared to extend his power further. His largely African army joined with the supporters of the exiled ruler and reinstated him on the throne. Bayão left an armed force in a fortified stockade and returned to the Zambezi valley, but from the point of view of the Portuguese his achievement was nullified when he was poisoned by rivals in the *feira* of Luanze on the road to Sena. His forces were withdrawn, and the Torwa state was left alone.[55]

The effect of this civil war on the Plateau was considerable. Bayao's success was noted by the Portuguese, and it encouraged them in their plans to exploit the whole region even further. Most of these plans came to nothing, but one concrete result of them was probably the Portuguese move into Maungwe which began the hostilities between the Changamire and the Portuguese.[56] It has been suggested that the civil war also taught the Changamire rulers the danger of letting the Portuguese intervene in internal politics, and the need to drive them off the Plateau;[57] and this argument has a good deal of force, although it is probably also true that the Changamire of the 1690s was equally influenced by the example of the Portuguese in the Mutapa state in the earlier part of the century and by local political factors in the north. In the Torwa state itself the civil war, which left the Torwa ruler unsupported by the forces that had helped him back to power, was probably a weakening factor that encouraged the Changamire in the 1680s to copy Bayão and seize the state for himself. In 1683 the Torwa ruler was described as being in friendly contact with the Portuguese,[58] but this marks the end of the Torwa dynasty as an effective power. By 1685 the Changamire was being described as a 'black man ruling in Butua'.[59]

This conquest will be described in detail in the next chapter, but the Changamire traditions give an interesting, if partly legendary, picture of the Torwa state on the eve of its fall. These traditions do not mention the Torwa dynasty as such. Either the dynasty and the memory of it were deliberately obliterated, or it had gone through the process of changing its name and had become one of the two families which were recalled in the Rozvi traditions as ruling the Khami-culture area, and were absorbed into the Changamire state. One tradition describing the pre-Changamire people of the Khami-culture area referred to them in the typical terms of Shona myth about pre-Shona inhabitants, as a

scattered people called Ngelengele, but it is clear from the references to stone buildings that the Torwa people were meant.[60] Another gave a picture of the Insiza area as inhabited solely by a man and his sister, Nenumbana and Nemushodzi — obviously a distortion.[61] But other traditions give a more coherent picture. It was stated that the land west of the Bembesi was under a Kalanga ruler, Ndumba, who lived not far from the Khami site.[62] This agrees with the archaeological evidence, which suggests that the Khami centre had been abandoned in favour of Danangombe (Dhlodhlo) by the end of the seventeenth century. Other people mentioned included the Nyubi under Sibuntuli in the Matopo hills.[63] But the main centre of the Torwa state in its latter days was east of the Bembesi, in the area of the Danangombe and Manyanga (Tabazikamambo) stone buildings. Changamire Rozvi traditions are remarkably consistent in claiming that the main rulers in this area when the Rozvi arrived were Chihunduru of the *soko* totem and Tumbare of the *bepe* or *moyo* totem. Each of these is supposed to have occupied a hill, and one of them — the name varies according to the tradition — was a powerful magician with a supernatural horn, or in some cases an oxtail, which could bring a cloud of bees to dispel invaders.[64] This is the kind of evidence, coupled with the apparent lack of Torwa intervention in the affairs of the north and east during its existence and the presence of such features as concealed passages in the Khami-culture buildings, that leads one to think that the Torwa state may have been more pacific in its nature, perhaps more religious in its organization, than the succeeding Changamire state. But one should be cautious. The point of the tradition about the magic powers of Chihunduru and Tumbare is to emphasize the superiority of the Rozvi, who overcame them and incorporated them into the Changamire state. The Torwa state only seems pacific in comparison with the Changamire dynasty, and it did intervene in Mutapa politics at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Zvimba dynasty, which as we have seen was an early creation and in existence by 1635, was installed by the Tumbare. This was a probable case of military intervention on the part of the Torwa state.[65] The concept of concealment of the ruler was also used on ceremonial occasions by the Mutapa state, which was anything but a religious organization. The mystery of the Torwa state probably lies more in its remoteness from early Portuguese observers than in its nature.

The people of the Torwa state did not vanish from the scene

when the Changamire dynasty came in from the north-east to conquer it. On the contrary, after a brief conflict — both documents and traditions suggest that the process of conquest was fairly easy[66] — the new dynasty settled down among the former inhabitants. Intermarriage with both the Torwa families of Chihunduru and Tumbare and with the Kalanga of Ndumba followed. Indeed, the traditions stress the role of intermarriage in aiding the conquest,[67] and one tradition claims that the second Changamire ruler in the area relied upon Ndumba for support at this succession.[68] It has been suggested that it was at this time that the Leopard's Kopje people actually began to use the name 'Kalanga' for themselves, having acquired it from Changamire's Rozvi who came from the main Karanga lands to the north-east.[69] Certainly the new dynasty acquired the local 'Kalanga' dialect, and the cultural continuity of the area remained unbroken. The Chihunduru, Tumbare, and Ndumba families continued to play an important part in the running of the Changamire state, and like the rest of the people of the Torwa state they adopted the name of 'Rozvi', which was originally used in the seventeenth century to refer to the relatives and close associates of the Changamire in the north and east, and which was eventually the name of the whole state and its people. Thus some people who called themselves Rozvi were in fact descendants of the people of the Torwa state.[70]

iv. The basic population of the south

As mentioned above, the major movements of Karanga dynasties from the north and east into the southern Plateau from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries have greatly obscured the history of the earlier Shona inhabitants. In the whole area from the Devure and Sabi in the north-east to the Umzingwani in the south-west, the concentration of archaeologists on the Zimbabwe and Khami cultures has until recently led to an almost total absence of a published archaeological sequence for the ordinary Shona peoples from the rise of Zimbabwe down to the present. In this area the entire pottery sequence is simply labelled 'Refuge' without any further subclassification. Only west of the Umzingwani has the existence of the Leopard's Kopje culture been shown to develop into that of the modern Kalanga. In the Venda country there is so far no complete archaeological sequence. A consequence of this is that we are forced to rely heavily upon traditions.

The traditional evidence on the original inhabitants of the south, which states that they were few and scattered, with a great

deal of empty country between their settlements, appears to be more accurate than is usual with such traditions. We have already seen that although many of the political units of the north and east date back to the original Karanga settlements of the fifteenth century and later, a number of pre-Karanga political and religious units survived, either as independent or partly assimilated bodies. Thus we still have the Mutwira family in Maungwe, the Muponda and Muchena families in Manyika, all with recognized political positions in these lands. In the Tavara country the Matope, Matsiwu, Chigango, and Gomo dynasties survive as distinct powers, as does the important Karuva cult. Even some very early-established Karanga dynasties such as Chimanda, Nyabapa, Chikwaka, and Rusike have survived later Karanga movements. As these political and religious survivals date back to the seventeenth, and in many cases to the fifteenth, century, it might be expected that there would be many more such survivals in the south, for the process of resettlement apparently began only in the late seventeenth century at the earliest, and in many areas was not complete until the mid-nineteenth century.

Yet the reverse is the case. Apart from Chingoma's Romwe, Hama's Shawasha, Chinaka's Pako, and the *moyo* Mazhe, none of the original population of the south survived the resettlement of the land by Karanga dynasties from the north and east as political units of even ward-size. A very few of the original population moved elsewhere, such as Chinamhora's Shawasha people and the Nyakuimba-Musikavanhu *dziva* group, but not enough to account for the apparent depopulation of the south. In short, the fact that only a very few, and rather small, political units of the original population of the south survived down to 1900, helps to support the claims of the incoming Karanga dynasties, that when they arrived the land was thinly populated by small, scattered groups under many rulers of different totems. This is a most unusual situation and there is so far no definite explanation for it, but a possible explanation is political. Although the environmental crisis that has been suggested as a cause of the decline of Zimbabwe in the fifteenth century could hardly have affected a great area if it was caused by the capital of the state itself, it did cause the ruling group to move west to Khami to found a new state, that of Torwa. The ruling group at Khami, and perhaps the succeeding Changamire dynasty, may have done their best to discourage the growth of large political units in the southern Plateau area around the old state's capital before the Karanga dynasties' re-

settlement. Traditions about the pre-Karanga in the south stress that these small, scattered units recognized only the distant 'Mambo' as their overlord, and although very many of these traditions refer to the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, this may have been true for the Torwa period as well.[71]

The following account shows the situation in the south before the Karanga dynasties occupied the area, but since the information about the original inhabitants comes from the traditions of these dynasties themselves, and since most of these did not arrive until well into the eighteenth century, and some not until the nineteenth century, it follows that this picture reflects the situation at different periods at different times. It also follows that very few of these original dynasties in the area can be traced back to the seventeenth century, let alone to before 1650, and many of them were contemporaries of the Changamire state rather than of the Torwa. Obviously, there could have been many changes in the situation before 1650, of which changes the dynasties mentioned here were simply the end product. On the other hand, one can no more take change for granted than one can rule it out, and the little groups described below may well have been present in the area for a century or two. They are described in this chapter rather than a later one because, essentially, they seem to reflect the fragmented pattern of the period of the height of the Torwa state's power rather than that of the migrating Karanga dynasties of which the Changamire dynasty was merely one.

In the lands immediately south and west of the Devure and Sabi rivers, the future centre of the Duma confederacy, only the names of the original inhabitants seem to have survived. In his research, R.M.G. Mtetwa found few who even admitted descent from a pre-Duma dynasty, let alone any pre-Duma dynasty ruling a land or a ward. The thirteen small groups that were recalled included those led by *moyo, dziva, shumba, tembo shiri,* and *soko* dynasties, as well as a cluster of *zhou, ngara* and *moyo* people under Chipata in modern Ndanga, and a joint occupation of Ndahumbwi hill nearby, by *soko* and *shiri* families.[72] Since the various Zimbabwe and Zimbabwe-variant stone buildings in the area have not been dated, or even fully classified, they cannot be linked to any of these groups with certainty.

Close to Zimbabwe were the *moyo* dynasty of NeGwadzi and the *shumba/musesekwa* dynasty of Nerombo. They were eventually ousted by an alliance between the Charumbira and Nemanwa dynasties, perhaps as late as the nineteenth century.[73]

There is no known link between them and Zimbabwe. West of them, in the future land of Mapanzure, lived the *soko* or *tembo* dynasty of NeChisanga, who was of sufficient importance to allocate land to Mapanzure's incoming Hera.[74] South of Zimbabwe was the land of Shawasha or Mahugwi, ruled by a *soko/watinaye* dynasty. Their first remembered ruler was Tumbudu, who died in the mid-seventeenth century. He was said to have been successful in warfare, and his people were exploiting the local Mahugwi iron-ore field. Tumbudu's grandson Tingini, son of Nemango, reportedly made a hoe-selling visit to the Zulu country — technically possible, even if untrue.[75]

In the valleys of the Mtilikwe, Pokoteke, and Shagashi north of Zimbabwe the traditions of the earliest of the present occupants stress the emptiness of the land. The Dewe *shumba* dynasty lived on Manyara hill until it was ousted by Nechipani's Rundwe *zhou/siwara* people,[76] but it cannot have ruled a great area, since only a few miles away was the Chikede *gumbo* dynasty of Bawa hill.[77] Apart from these communities, the land is stated in traditions to have been 'empty' — a common claim in such traditions, but repeated with special emphasis in this particular area.[78]

To the west, in the curve formed by the Tokwe and Shashe rivers, traditions conflict on the identity of the earliest occupants. The main names mentioned in the traditions of the Mhari, who took over the area in the late eighteenth century, are Garanyanya and Chadokwenda. Garanyanya *soko* lived near Mungudza hill, on the headwaters of the Mushandike.[79] Chadokwenda *chibga/netombo* lived on Mungudza hill itself,[80] which is also described as having belonged to the Chenda people,[81] presumably another name for Chadokwenda's group. Not only are two different dynasties recalled as having ruled in this small area, but the traditions of Dehwe's Njanja claim that this area was uninhabited and too wild to settle.[82]

In the land around the valleys of the Ngezi, Shashe, and upper Tokwe rivers, the same pattern persisted. A great deal of the traditional evidence given on the earliest known inhabitants refers to the 'Rozvi' centre of Ndarikure near the Shashe and to other Rozvi villages nearby, but these Rozvi cannot be dated further back than the period of the Changamire state, and so they will be discussed in the next chapter. Nevertheless, Ndarikure with its tilted rock — the work of the Rozvi, according to tradition — and such sites as Dungugwi and Chipupi may prove to have been important centres right through the Torwa period and as far back as the Zimbabwe

period.[83] The only other original inhabitants noted east of the Ngezi were Charedza, Samanga, Nezvamba, and Ndashodzi.[84] Between the Ngezi and the Tokwe lived Tezva *moyo*, whose dynasty survived until the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century before being supplanted by Banka's Mhari.[85] West of the Tokwe the chief of the early rulers was Boroma, who was also defeated round about 1800 by the Mhari and Rozvi. Called NeChirima in one account,[86] Boroma is generally regarded as having been a Rozvi subruler of the Rozvi Mambo,[87] and it has even been suggested that he was connected with the Boroma mentioned by Barros as ruling at Zimbabwe in the sixteenth century;[88] his totem, however, was *tembo-shumba*.[89] Another Rozvi group, seen in symbolic terms as a woman ruler and her daughter, lived south of Boroma and were eventually taken over by Mazivisa's *soko* dynasty in the eighteenth century, while a *soko* ruler named Macherachekata was based on Guruguru mountain nearby.[90]

Between the middle Tokwe and the Umzungwani the traditions give a similar picture of a thinly populated countryside in the mountains that divided the plateau from the lowveld. This area contained a great number of the Zimbabwe and Khami-style buildings, but nearly all of them, even early-style structures dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, are associated vaguely with 'Mambo' or 'the Rozvi' rather than with any specific ruler.[91] In the Munaka range between the Tokwe and Lundi rivers lived the Pako under the Chinaka dynasty, which remained independent until the nineteenth century. This may have been the Chigwe group mentioned in Nemavuzhe traditions.[92] In the modern Shabani area west of the Lundi was a *soko/maregegwa* Rozvi family,[93] and over the river to their east were the *moyo* Mazhe.[94] Ngezi was a *soko* dynasty under Gwere or Pakere.[95] Between the Ngezi and the Nuanetsi the traditions depict the land as virtually empty. The land west of the Doro range was said to be unoccupied, one man and his wife are represented as the sole population south of Belingwe Peak.[96] The land south of the Ngezi-Lundi junction was said to be empty.[97] Some people called vaSunga lived further down the Lundi,[98] while the area between the Lundi and the Nuanetsi was held by Neruwindi's *ngara* and by people vaguely termed Dumbuseya — actually, a term in use from the late eighteenth century describing warlike bands of no common origin. West of the Nuanetsi the situation is only slightly clearer. Gambe, who lived south of the river opposite Belingwe Peak, was definitely linked in traditions with the Zimbabwe-Khami ruins in his

area.[100] The land between the Nuanetsi and the Insiza was ruled by a dynasty, probably *shumba*-totem, under Chikomba.[101]

It has been suggested that the southern Shona country was a major centre of *dziva* and *shiri* dynasties in the period before the Karanga resettlement, and that the crocodile and bird emblems found at or near Zimbabwe reflect this.[102] The south did contain, as the account given above shows, a number of *shiri* dynasties, mostly in the Duma area, but the most common of these early southern totems appear to have been *shumba, soko,* and *moyo*. The *dziva* totem, or its associated totems *ngwenya* (crocodile), *mvuu* (hippo), *mbiti* (otter), and *mbedzi* (pool), was rare in the south of the southern Zambezian plateau and its fringing mountains, but it did occur in the dry lowveld and middle Sabi valley.

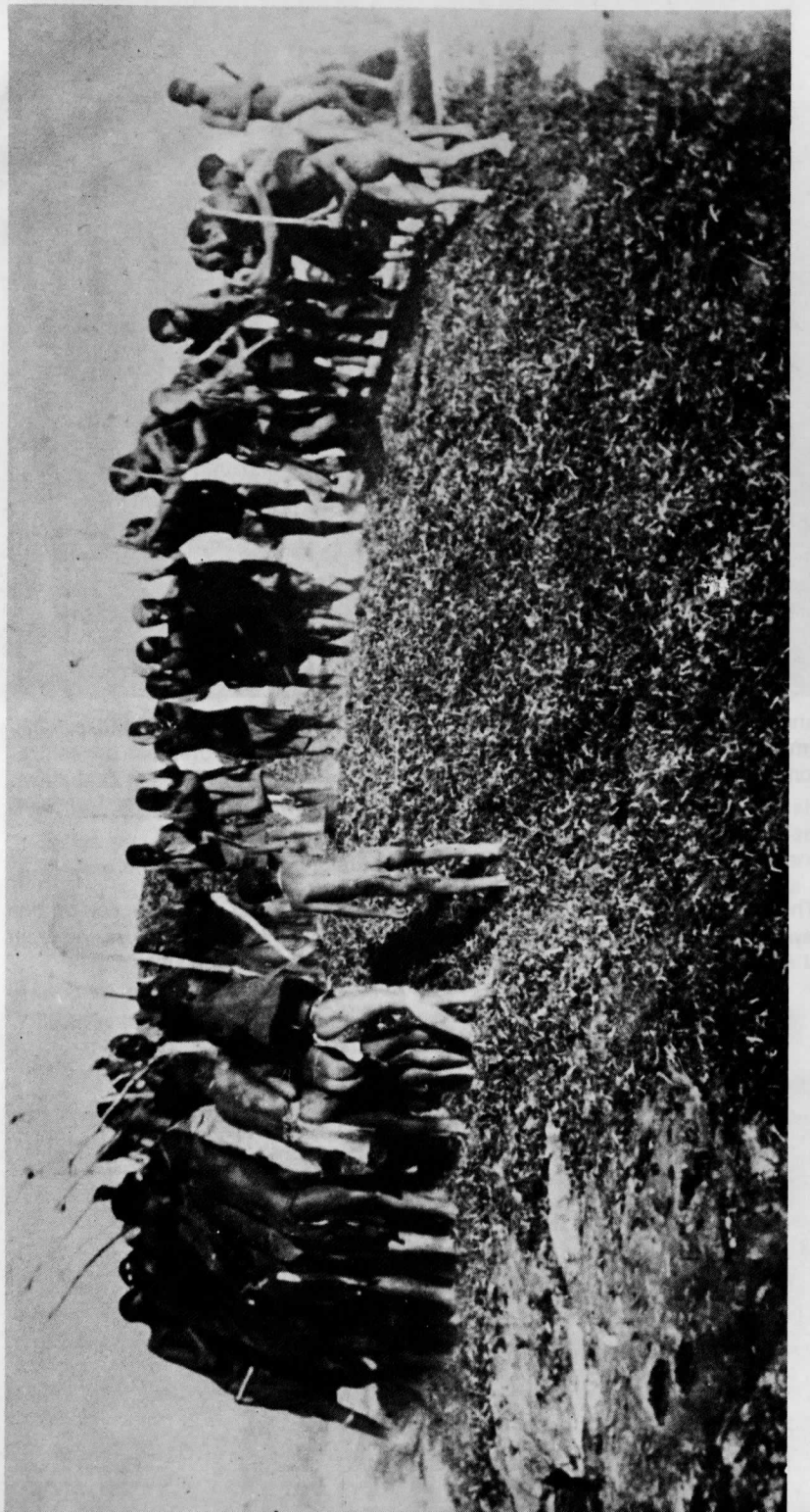
A *dziva* Romwe dynasty with rain-making power was centred on Romwe hill in the lowveld east of the Mtilikwe, until the late eighteenth century when the Rozvi moved them west of the Lundi. In spite of Sicard's attempts to link this dynasty of Chingoma with a great number of other groups, including a Chingoma dynasty in the Zambezi delta, there is no reliable evidence on this. Even the Nechiromwe dynasty of the Rembetu on the Limpopo is of the *zhou* totem.[103]

Apart from some *soko*-totem 'Karanga' or 'Nyai' encountered by the Tsonga when they occupied the lower Nuanetsi valley, the southernmost Karanga speakers in the lowveld appear to have been the Pfumbi of the lower Bubye and the Rembetu on the Limpopo nearby.[104] The most important centre of the Pfumbi was Marungudzi mountain south of the Bubye, and until the early nineteenth century when they were overcome by the Venda or Lovedu ancestors of the Matibi dynasty of the *mbedzi* totem they were ruled by the *zhou* Chikada dynasty.[105]

At Marungudzi the histories of the Shona and Venda merge, for the Mbedzi, a very early component of the Venda-speaking people, claim Marungudzi as their place of origin. But before crossing the Limpopo to examine the whole question of the Venda-speaking peoples, we must first examine the very limited evidence on the Kalanga-speaking area. The Kalanga, derived from the Leopard's Kopje culture, were definitely the basic population in the western end of the Torwa state, and since traditions state that the eighteenth-century Changamire dynasty, which spoke a Kalanga dialect, was based east of the Bembesi around Danangombe and Manyanga, it is possible that the Kalanga extended that far east. But we have no proof that the Kalanga reached any

further north or east to the Umsweswe or the Lundi river limits of the Torwa state. On the other hand, the basic Leopard's Kopje-Kalanga area extended far to the south of the limits of the Torwa state proper, and into the Limpopo valley.

For the reason stated earlier, we have virtually no information about the political history of the Kalanga: they are known to us primarily as an archaeological culture and secondarily as an ethnic backdrop to the activities of the Rozvi, Sotho-Tswana, Ndebele, and Rhodesians. Very few traditions are available and few of these predate the late eighteenth century. As an archaeological culture, the Kalanga date back to the very earliest Shona settlements, nearly a thousand years. Even if there had been no sweeping changes in Kalanga politics during this period, it would be too much to hope for traditions dating that far back. As it is, the available traditions concentrate upon ruling lineages rather than upon the people as a whole — the besetting fault of the bulk of the traditions of the Shona people. A very generalized Kalanga tradition, that of Dintweng Kousu on Kalanga totems, seems to look back to a legendary time when there were 'Nyai' clans ruled by Mambo in an area into which newcomers came. The result was civil strife and a movement of people away from the Mambo to become the Kalanga. The mention of Tumbare as a leader of the people suggests that this may reflect the struggles of the last years of the Torwa state.[106] Sebina's collected tradition on the Kalanga, however, is essentially an account of the Changamire state and a stylized explanation of its fall, which relies heavily on secondary material or repeats widely known stories.[107] Specific Kalanga histories are rare, and most refer to nineteenth-century developments. Mosojani's dynasty recalls how it was originally part of the Rolong section of the Sotho, but became Kalanga after it settled at the Shashi-Ramakwabani junction. Mosojani's people became known as Humbe, but it is not known whether they founded this group. The local Nyai ruler was Nimakwali.[108] Another similar tradition traces the origin of five dynasties from a place called Teti.[109] In the Umzingwani valley, Kalanga-speaking groups have been identified by Sicard, who was able to link them with some of the stone buildings in the area. Nevertheless, few of the groups he described can be dated to before about 1800. Chivunduma, who ruled in the middle Umzingwani area two generations before the arrival of the Jawunda from the east, evidently spoke a Kalanga dialect, since the modern Jawunda dialect resembles Rozvi, which



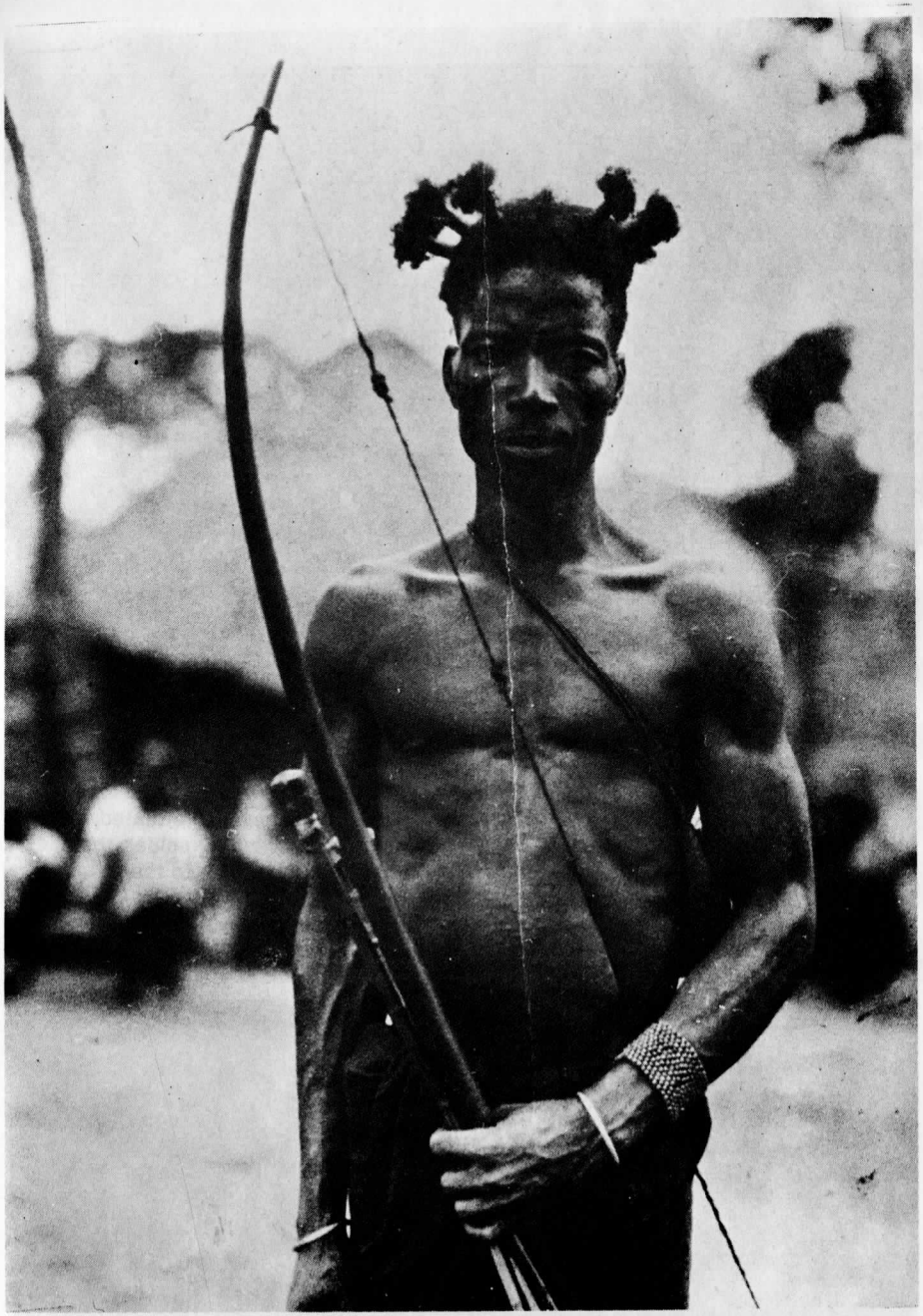
'The greater number of the Africans are inclined to agricultural and pastoral pursuits, in which their riches consist,' (António Bocarro, *c.*1631 – 49.) Agriculture was central to all African societies during the Iron Age: threshing rukweza, southern Shona, 1895. *(Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

'And in the south there are no others equal to them,' (Ahmad ibn-Madjid, *c.*1502). Zimbabwe and, to a lesser extent, Khami, represented the greatest concentrations of population on the Plateau before 1850: urban housing sites at Zimbabwe.
(Photo: T.N. Huffman)

'The houses of the king, which were of stone and clay and very large and on one level,' (Diogo de Alcácova, 1506). The northern 'zimbabwe' of Nhunguza was built at about the time of which Alcácova wrote, within the Mutapa state.
(Photo: National Museums of Zimbabwe)

'When they have important guests such as kings, all come and dance, taking turns, the old, the young, the women, and the fourteen, fifteen and twelve-year-old girls,' (António Gomes, 1648). Southern Shona dancers, c.1895.
(Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe)

'The other part of the country, along the river Cuama and the interior . . . is mostly mountainous, covered with trees, watered by rivers, and pleasantly situated, and is therefore more thickly populated; and Benomotapa generally resides there,' (Joao de Barros, 1552). The mountain of Fura (Darwin) was close to the *feira* of Massapa in the heart of Mutapa state.
(Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe)



'Some wear ten horns, others more, others less . . . and the greatest beaux wear two horns on their heads . . . ,' (André Fernandes, 1560). As late as the 1920s this northern Shona hunter was wearing a rather similar hairstyle.

(Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe)

'There is nothing more delightful and pleasing than to see Manyika in the two seasons in January and February, and September and October for if one goes to the top of a mountain he will see the valley transformed and covered with green and sprinkled with flowers. . . ' (Descripcao Corográfica, c.1780). The beauty of Manyika scenery was, unfortunately, linked to a relative shortage of usable land.

(Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe)

'Natives whom I met in the country of Sekeletu from Manica . . . state that there are . . . walls of hewn stone, which they believe to have been made by their ancestors,' (David Livingstone, 1857). This may be the first reference to the Uplands culture of Inyanga, in which the Barwe Tonga built terraces, forts and pit structures from *c.*1650 until the 19th century when they were conquered by the Manyika.

(Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe)

'Having interrogated him about Changamire, his kingdom, etc., he told me that he has three *congomes* which I suppose to be big houses made of stone, and four big artillery pieces very rusty, on the ground,' (Joao Jullao da Silva, 1831). Danangombe (Dhlodhlo) was the capital of the Changamire state from the 1680s to the 1830s.

(Photo: National Museums of Zimbabwe)

'The royal palace which is called a palace only because it is the dwelling of the king, otherwise it is merely a house or hut as planned by the intelligence of a man who has seen nothing of the civilized world.' (Descripcao Corográfica, *c.*1780). Chitoramano, the hut of the Changamire on top of Danangombe, is still standing today.

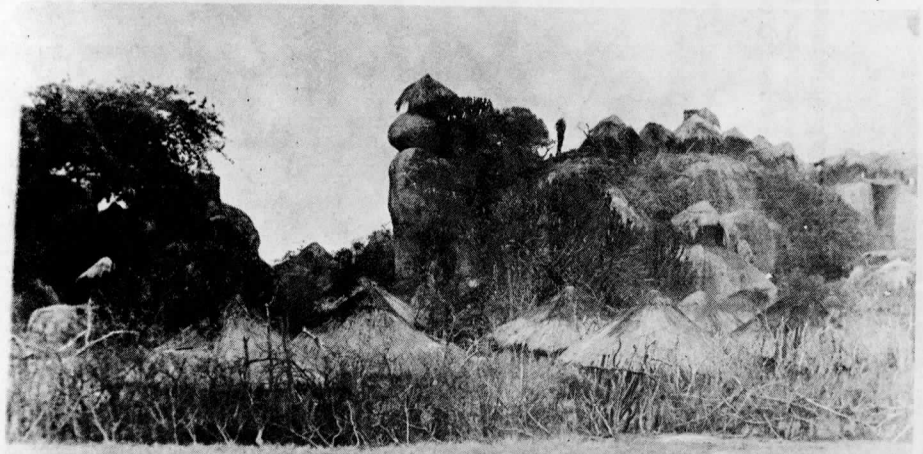
(Photo: National Museums of Zimbabwe)

'The king had nine of these enclosures apart from his wives' houses which wives must have been more than a thousand and the children as many as flies,' (Julio Cesar Vertua, 1620). By the 19th century even relatively minor dynasties were beginning to rival the Mutapas in this respect: Gutu Makuvaza (d. *c.*1919) had at least 7 uncles, 17 brothers and 40 sons.

(Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe)

'Ucalanga . . . is a very great kingdom in which there are many very large towns and many other villages besides,' (Diogo de Alcácova, 1506). By the 19th century, large settlements were rare, and small villages like this at Zimuto in 1890 typified the Karanga resettlement of the south.

(Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe)



is part of Kalanga. Other groups living further down the Umzingwani and to the east, nearly as far as Marungudzi, also belonged to the Kalanga, since they either bore Kalanga-dialect names such as Twamamba, or they were associated with stone buildings at which Mapungubwe-style pottery was recovered. Some, such as Nengare's *soko*-totem family, belonged to the Rembetu, who seem to be a group found in both Karanga- and Kalanga-dialect areas as well as in Venda-speaking country.[110] In general, however, there does not yet appear to be any body of traditional material predating 1800 that can enable us to describe the history of the Kalanga as we can describe that of other dialect clusters. At present, we can only deal with them where and when they impinge on the history of other peoples, just as historical studies have done so far. This is a major gap in our historical knowledge, and one that one hopes will soon be filled.

Traditions agree that the former area of Kalanga settlement extended as far to the south-west as the Shoshong hills,[111] while archaeology shows that it ran down to the Limpopo valley and the sites of the major centres of Mapungubwe and Mapela, which were important Leopard's Kopje culture settlements. At this point we return to the borderland of the Shona and Venda languages, and to the problem of the distinction between the two. Major breakthroughs in both archaeology and linguistics have in the last few years made a classification of the peoples involved relatively easy.

One breakthrough concerns the Leopard's Kopje culture. Until recently, it was not only thought to be a development of the Early Iron Age, but it was thought to be connected with both the Sotho and Shona. To make matters even more complicated, the skeletal remains found at the Leopard's Kopje settlements at Mapungubwe, were thought to be Khoi — the pastoral component of the Khoisan group.[112] Now it is known that the Leopard's Kopje culture was completely separate from all the southern Zambezian Early Iron Age cultures, and that it was a Shona culture, ancestral to the Kalanga-dialect group and quite distinct from the Sotho. It is also known that there is no trace of Khoi settlement at Mapungubwe, which was a Kalanga centre.[113] The traditions of the Mapungubwe area have been effectively lost as a result of Sotho settlement in the lands between it and the rest of the Kalanga country, the most important of these Sotho groups being the Birwa in the east and the Ngwato in the west.[114] Nevertheless, traces of the Kalanga of the Mapungubwe area survive further

south. South of the drylands of the Limpopo valley lies the fertile Zoutpansberg, and here the recent work of linguistic historians has provided a second major breakthrough, in that it has sorted out a major problem, that of the identity of the Venda. Until 1969, the claims of the present ruling dynasties of the Venda that they themselves were the true Venda, and that the 'aboriginal Mbedzi, Lembetu and Ngona of the mountains' who preceded them in the Zoutpansberg area were not really Venda, were accepted more or less without question.[115] This viewpoint was partly based on the underlying assumption of old-style South African history, which was that the history of the Africans was one of successive 'waves' of people following each other from the north. It was also based on an analysis of the Venda vocabulary that suggested that it was latterly a hybrid of Sotho and Shona, with only a small 'aboriginal' component.[116] But in 1969 J.R. Gray's work questioned this emphasis on the ruling Singo dynasties, and went a long way towards presenting an outline of the pre-Singo structure of Venda history.[117] This work was dramatically confirmed by subsequent linguistic and archaeological research. Ehret's team proved that Venda was not a hybrid language, but a distinct language of the south-east Bantu group. The strong Shona elements in Venda are easily explained by historical factors, as will be seen.[118] At the same time the archaeologists showed that the settlement of the Transvaal by Bantu-speaking Early Iron Age people can be dated back to the first few centuries A.D.[119] Consequently the basic Venda stock, like that of the Sotho, Nguni and Tsonga, is descended from this earliest settlement of South-east Bantu-speakers in southern Africa. These developments effectively reversed the previously accepted theory, and provided a new framework within which traditions may be placed. We now know that the basic Venda-speaking people have been present in the Zoutpansberg from very early times, and that they have absorbed a number of groups of Shona immigrants.

From the point of view of Shona history, the main problem in Venda history is to identify those elements of the Venda that are of Shona origin, and to relate them to both the Shona society from which they came and to the Venda society into which they merged. It is then possible to identify the origins of Venda groups that moved back into the Shona country across the lowveld at various points in time. There are four main Shona cultures and political units from which Shona groups emigrating to Venda are

most likely to have moved. One of these is the Leopard's Kopje-Kalanga culture which flourished up to the sixteenth century, especially that part of it based on Mapungubwe in the Limpopo valley, not far from the Venda country in the Zoutpansberg. The second is the Zimbabwe culture itself, which flourished at about the same time. The third is the Torwa state based on Khami in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the last is the Changamire state which succeeded it in the late seventeenth century and which lasted until the nineteenth century. All of these spoke the Kalanga dialect of Shona, except the Zimbabwe culture, whose dialect is not yet known, and it is therefore not surprising that all the Shona elements so far identified in the Venda language are Kalanga. Indeed, there is evidence that at least two and perhaps three of these cultures contributed towards the make-up of the Venda as they are today.

The most recent and the most famous of the Shona immigrations into Venda was that of the Singo dynasties, which have dominated Venda since the late eighteenth century. They have taken the name 'Venda' for themselves, but since the polity they founded was only the second to have united all the Venda-speaking people, their claim to the exclusive right to the name is not justified.[120] It has been suggested that they occupied the Venda country as refugees fleeing from the wars of the great Changamire who died in 1696, but a close examination of the names of their rulers shows that they are specifically Changamire Rozvi in character. The Singo dynasties claimed links with the builders of the Zimbabwe and Khami cultures, but these claims are somewhat suspect, and their mutually acknowledged relationship with the Rozvi would tend to argue against this.[121] There can be little doubt, therefore, that the Singo dynasties are in fact offshoots of the Changamire Rozvi, and so they will be dealt with in the next chapter. What concerns us here is the Shona-Venda relationship before the eighteenth century.

The most striking feature of pre-Singo history is the contrast between the picture presented by Venda and northern Sotho traditions and that given by the documents and the archaeology. The traditions give a picture of many small groups living independently of each other in the whole area between the Limpopo and the Olifants rivers. The archaeology of the Venda country, however, shows that at various times there has been sufficient wealth and political power to support the construction of *zimbabwe* in a style derived from the Shona states of the north, while documents writ-

ten by the Dutch at Delagoa Bay in the 1720s make it clear that there was a Venda state dominating the whole Venda-speaking area and many neighbouring lands. This discrepancy, which resembles the discrepancies in the evidence for the Torwa state, is not difficult to explain: on the one hand, the Singo conquered the Venda area at some time after the 1720s, and so they would naturally tend to discourage traditions that glorified their predecessors; on the other hand, as the Singo do not appear to have ruled quite such a wide area as the earlier state, the outlying peoples could easily have forgotten a period of domination by the earlier state.

This earlier state was known as Thovela, as was its ruler, who also went by names of Lavhelani or 'Matchiwalaune'. The ruler controlled a certain amount of mineral production and ivory extraction in much the same way as the Shona rulers north of the Limpopo, and also carried on trade with the Changamire state. The ruler lived in a Shona-style *zimbabwe* made of the local stones, and had an organized court around him. Unfortunately, it is not yet possible to link this early eighteenth-century Venda state with any Venda group known to us from traditions. It is clear that the Thovela was not the same as the first Singo, for the connections between the Singo and the Changamire Rozvi are clear, whereas it is obvious from the Dutch reports of the 1720s that there was no political connection between the Thovela and Changamire and that there was probably no dynastic connection. Indeed, the political relationship between the two may have been hostile in spite of their economic links, in view of the evidence on the Lemba. The economic and political decline of the Shona-speaking *mwenye* Muslim traders on the Plateau in the seventeenth century, which had not stopped with their defeat in the Torwa civil war of 1644, had also its cultural and religious side. The Muslim community was gradually becoming more and more absorbed into the Shona world, to become the Lemba groups scattered across the Plateau, groups that retained little more than fragments of the Islamic faith and culture. One such group had evidently tried to oppose the Changamire conquest of the south-west in the 1680s, had failed, and had fled to the Thovela state and been granted shelter. This in itself suggests that in the 1720s the Singo immigrants had not yet left the Changamire state, let alone conquered the Venda.[122]

We have no idea when the Thovela state first emerged, and the paragraph above summarizes most of what is known of it; the most that can be said is that the ruling dynasty was probably of

Shona origin, given the style of stone building used at the *zimbabwe*. We do, however, have some idea of the composition of the pre-Singo population of the long, parallel valleys of the Zoutpansberg. They had many names, Ngona, Mbedzi, Tavhatsindi, Twamamba, and Lembetu and the Venda traditions about them are much like those of the Shona in that they tend to concentrate on the ruling lineages rather than upon the people as a whole. This in turn leads to a situation in which informants state that the 'real' members of a certain people are of a certain totem, that of the ruler. In fact the pre-Singo Venda had several totems. This was certainly true of the Twamamba, who were originally Shona, with the *mbedzi, dau, nngu,* and *leya* totems,[123] and the Tavatsindi who were of the *dau, kwebo,* and *ndou* totems.[124] The various pre-Singo groups were evidently mixed geographically, with Ngona being found as far east as Tshaulu and Mbedzi as far as west as Mianzwi.[125] Since the mountains would not have hindered cultural assimilation as much as political unity, the language classification of these pre-Singo, or allegedly pre-Singo, groups assumes a special importance. Whereas the Zoutpansberg was apparently solidly Venda-speaking, it seems possible that in the drylands of the Limpopo valley scattered villages of different language groups were more easily able to preserve their distinct tongues.

The two basic Venda-speaking peoples were the Mbedzi and the Ngona. The Mbedzi (pool) people are generally regarded as having been the easternmost of the pre-Singo Venda. Their traditions state that they came from Marungudzi mountain across the Limpopo, led by Luvhimbi.[126] There is some reason to doubt this, however. Firstly, some Venda used to retain the basic idea that they came from the north or west even though, as we have seen, the main Venda population has been settled in the country so long that genuine traditions of this kind could not have survived.[127] Marungudzi is clearly visible from the Zoutpansberg as the nearest major mountain to the north across the Limpopo.[128] It is therefore a 'natural' as a staging-point in Venda migration-myths. Moreover — and this is probably the root of the matter — Marungudzi is now occupied by the *mbedzi* dynasty of Matibi, and a branch of the Raluvhimba cult has been centred there for some time.[129] Unfortunately for the Mbedzi tradition, an examination of the traditions of Matibi's Pfumbi shows that the ruling *mbedzi* dynasty came to Marungudzi from the Mbedzi country to the south, bringing the Raluvhimba cult with it, not earlier than

the mid-eighteenth century and possibly much more recently. The original inhabitants of Marungudzi were the original Pfumbi, under the *zhou*-totem dynasty of Chikada.[130] The truth of the matter probably lies in Gray's suggestion that both the Mbedzi and the Ngona have been in Venda for so long that they no longer have a clear idea of which of them, if either, arrived first, except in very limited areas.[131] This means that even the ruling Mbedzi were probably descended directly from the original South-east Bantu-speaking settlers of the area.

The lands of the Mbedzi were scattered, with some lying south of the Luvuvhu river, and others at Tshaulu in the north-east, but the main land of Vhumbedzi was around the Mianzwi, Matangari, and Makonde hills in the Mutale valley in the area now known as Thengwe. Here was Ha Luvhimbi, and here Luvhimbi was based. Luvhimbi was, according to traditions, both a ruler and a rain-maker who came from Marungudzi.[132] On the whole, the evidence suggests that Luvhimbi was a dynastic title rather than an individual, and that the Luvhimbi dynasty has been powerful in Vhumbedzi since the construction of stone buildings attributed to the Mbedzi.[133]

The Ngona component of the pre-Singo Venda was more complex. One of the factors aiding this was the tendency for the Singo to call all their predecessors 'Ngona'.[134] Essentially, it is obvious that there was a basically Venda population called Ngona under a number of different rulers. Some of these were also Ngona, but others had the names of Lembetu, Twamamba, and Tavhatsindi and were immigrants from the Shona-speaking area to the north. The whole pre-Singo ethnic structure was highly fragmentary. Despite Mudau's claims that Raphulu's line controlled the whole eastern part of the country and was recognized as paramount by Luvhimbi of the Mbedzi,[135] it is clear from his own account that Raphulu was no more than a minor monarch and that events treated as major wars almost on the scale of the Singo civil wars actually took place in a few square miles in the Lutanandwa valley.[136] Two 'major' dynasties, the Ngona ruler, Raphulu, and the Twamamba ruler, Tshivula, appear to have been based on the same mountain of Vuvha,[137] perhaps on opposite sides, since a mountainside with access to surrounding valley floors would probably have been of more use than a mountain-top site. Nevertheless, it is possible that Raphulu had been beginning to extend his power shortly before the Singo arrived, for he also ruled at

Tshirululuni.[138] Tshivula is also said to have extended his power at the same time, conquering the Lembetu ruler, Mutele.[139]

The Ngona proper included the Raphulu, Damani, and a number of minor dynasties. There is no recorded tradition for the Raphulu dynasty, but the history of the nearby Damani dynasty at Tshakhuma in the Lutanandwa valley shows that the settlement of these Ngona dynasties, quite apart from their underlying population, was very early. From Raluthaga, who was a contemporary of the Singo ruler Ramabulana who died in 1864, and who died not very long after, the history goes back to his grandfather Rundani, the eldest son of Radzaga II, who married the Ndalamo woman ruler, Mutumbe. Mutumbe had arrived in the Damani area 'many years' after the main Singo settlement. This settlement occurred in the time of Ratshiuvhu who ruled 'many' reigns after Mphadza-a-Dovhoni, grandson of Radzaga I, the earliest remembered ruler. A very tentative generational dating would put the Damani dynasty back into the sixteenth century.[140] Other Ngona included Ramphaga, who ruled the west side of Mauluma hill, and who may have been subject to Raphulu,[141] the *dau*-totem Ngona of Mangwele mountain,[142] Diwase's Ngona at Tshaula,[143] and Tshidziwelele who preceded NeTshiendeulu's Tavhatsindi at Tshiendeulu in the Nzhelele valley.[144]

Of the three peoples of Shona origin who ruled over the Ngona, the Lembetu were found largely in the Mutale valley. One community was well downstream at Makuya,[145] another further up in the Thengwe area, and their most important ruler, Mutele, originally an Ngona, at Ha Mutele.[146] Another Lembetu ruler was Makahane.[147] There were also Lembetu in the Nzhelele valley.[148] Although the Lembetu speech was said by Mudau to resemble Kalanga, it seems that he referred to the original Lembetu speech that was still used by *malombo* exorcisers, and that the Lembetu actually came to speak Venda, as did all the other rulers of Venda.[149] The Tavhatsindi were generally found in the west. NeTshiendeulu held Tshiendeulu hill in the Nzhelele valley near the site of the Dzata stone buildings, Matidza was at Luonde in the south-east, NeMaungani in the Luvhuvhu valley, NeTshiavo at both Khalavha in the Nzhelele valley and a territory called Tshiheni near Lake Fundudzi, Manenzhe at Manenzhe, and NeThengwe at Shakhadzi, alongside some Lembetu.[150] There does not seem to be any evidence that NeTshiendeulu ruled a true state, or even that he was important except in the immediate vicinity of Dzata. His importance lay in the choice of the incoming Singo

dynasty of his area as the site for the capital of their state, for, as the *muridziwepasi* (owner of the land) of the Singo capital, he assumed a considerable ritual importance and apparently intervened in Singo politics at least once in the eighteenth century. The Twamamba seem to have been primarily in the south-west, especially around Vuvha mountain where Tshivula lived,[151] but there were also Twamamba in the Nzhelele valley.[152] Some people of 'Kalanga' origin who preceded the Damani Ngoma at Luvhalani have not been classified into any of these three groups.[153]

The origins of the Shona ruling over the pre-Singo Venda cannot be ascertained very clearly. Tshivula's group of Twamamba were driven from Vuvha to the Blouberg-Saltpan area in the west, and there it was found in the 1930s that their surviving non-Venda dialect was Kalanga.[154] Whether this was a genuine survival from their pre-Venda days before they came to Vuvha, or whether they re-acquired it after they left Vuvha, is not known. It is possible that Kalanga-speakers have dominated the drylands of the Brak river valley up to the foothills of the Venda area in the Zoutpansberg since the decline of Mapungubwe. Generally, it seems that Shona immigrants into Venda lost their own language and adopted Venda after only a few generations,[155] except for some survivals encountered in the Tavhatsindi dialect.[156] Since Kalanga was the common speech of both the Leopard's Kopje and the Khami culture, we cannot be sure which of the two was the original home of most of the Twamamba and Tavhatsindi rulers mentioned. The exception is NeTshiendeulu, who was named after Tshiendeulu hill, which had the same name as the Torwa leader Chihunduro *soko* of the Khami culture.[157]

In short, although the basic political and ethnic structure of the Venda-speaking area in the seventeenth century is now fairly clear, we have no idea of their internal history at this time except in the case of the Ngona of Damani. Statements that one group of pre-Singo found another there before them,[158] or that they came from the north or the west,[159] or attempts to link up totems in the style of the diffusionists of the Frobenius school[160] are all unhelpful. Only the discovery of new, rich sources of oral tradition, or, more probably, the work of archaeologists across the whole south, seems likely to give us a history of the Venda before 1650.

As for the movements of Shona-speaking people beyond the Zoutpansberg into the Sotho country, the evidence is so vague that it is of little use. The well-known movement that led to the foundations of the Lovedu dynasty was supposed to have originated in

a civil war between the sons of 'Monomotapa', but there is so little supporting detail that one suspects that there has been contamination of the tradition by a mission text-book. The second name in the genealogy, 'Mambo', seems slightly more authentic, while the incomplete genealogy gives a generational date of the early seventeenth century for the beginning of the dynasty.[161] There are also traditions of 'Ngona' preceding the Lovedu dynasty, and stone buildings are associated with them, but there are no surviving Ngona in the Lovedu country and only archaeology can prove or disprove the existence of a pre-Lovedu or Shona element corresponding to the pre-Singo Tavhatsindi, Lembetu, or Twamamba.[162] The Lovedu dynasty is generally agreed to have arrived in the south before the Singo dynasties reached Venda,[163] but it is not yet possible to state which Shona culture it came from. The Phalaborwa Sotho dynasty also claims Shona origins, but with even less supporting evidence.[164]

v. The Torwa and the south: conclusions

In some ways the history of the south shows the limitations of archaeology, traditions, and documents. If we had a complete archaeological record for the peoples of the south from the fall of Zimbabwe to the present, if the traditions of the basic populations of the southern Shona and Venda countries had survived later settlements and occupations, if the Portuguese had penetrated the Torwa state for a longer period, we would know a great deal more. On the other hand, the available evidence is remarkably clear on some points. The fact that there was a Torwa state stands out clearly from the documents. The fact that the future Karanga-dialect area was very thinly populated before the great Karanga resettlements of the eighteenth century, compared with either the north and east or the Torwa state, Kalanga-dialect, and Venda areas, seems to be fairly well established, however difficult it is to explain. The fact that we know practically nothing of the history of the Kalanga is clear, however unfortunate this may be.

But this shortage of knowledge in this southern area at this period can also be of advantage to the historian. A certain amount of historical writing carried out so far has assumed a greater knowledge of the early past of the south than actually exists. Writers who have relied upon the work of Harald von Sicard, for example, can now place his work in its proper context, and realize

that much of what he described as early history is in fact comparatively recent, that his attempts to reconstruct the history of the Bantu-speaking peoples of southern Africa have largely been outstripped by archaeological, linguistic, and historical work, and that many of his assumptions about the identity of early groups in the south are incorrect. This is important, because any study of the later politics, economy, and religion of the south must take into account the earlier course of southern Plateau history.

CHAPTER 7

The Rozvi and the Changamire State

i. The origin of a myth: the historiography of the Rozvi

There can have been few groups in Africa that have been as inflated beyond their real stature by myth-making as the Rozvi. Moreover, this myth-making has been stimulated rather than inhibited by modern African historians and archaeologists. It is something of a tribute to the real strength of the Rozvi that when the layers of myth are peeled away, there is still a genuine state structure to be discussed. Before going into an analysis of the real Rozvi, however, it is well worthwhile examining the way in which the myths concerning them arose, first the myths of Europeans and then those of the African people.

The Rozvi first appeared to the Portuguese as the followers of the Changamire who rose to fame in the 1680s and 1690s as the Shona ruler who conquered the Torwa state of the south-west and drove them from their *feiras* of Dambarare and Manyika. His successes against the Torwa, against the Mutapa Mukombwe, and especially against themselves inspired the Portuguese with a profound respect for the Changamire and his Rozvi followers, so that they called him their 'fatal enemy' and circulated horrific stories of his desecration of graves for his magic.[1] Even though his forces entered their area of interest only four times — Maungwe in 1684, the Mutapa state in 1693 and 1702, and Manyika in 1695 — they were so impressed by his victories that they never again dared to enter the Plateau in the eighteenth century.[2]

This view changed somewhat as the eighteenth century wore on: the economics of the Plateau at this time were such that those who held the ports through which cloth and beads came and those who controlled the gold and ivory of the interior had ultimately to co-operate if they were to trade. Thus the Portuguese, recognizing that the Changamire Rozvi were the greatest single power on the Plateau, came to look upon the Changamire as their

ally against other rivals. Thus, in 1743, 1772, and 1781 the Portuguese of Zumbo looked for aid from Changamire, and Rozvi armies were sent to defend them.[3] The Portuguese in Manyika were by the 1780s hoping that the Changamire would obtain better trading conditions for them.[4] Even in the last years of the Changamire state, the Portuguese view of it was basically friendly.[5]

The overall view of the Changamire state from the Portuguese position was essentially realistic, at least as far as the nature of the state was concerned. They saw it as a powerful African political unit of the kind to which they were accustomed, its power being based on the control of the herds and mines of the south-west and expressed through the Rozvi armies; they had no illusions about any special spiritual powers being held by the Changamire or his relatives. As in their relations with the Mutapa in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Portuguese were prone to think of the most powerful Shona ruler as being the overlord of all the Shona, but they did recognize that there were limitations to the Changamire's power in practice.

The next European writers to record traditions on the Rozvi were doing so after the fall of the Changamire state, and were almost completely ignorant of the Portuguese sources. These writers were the travellers and missionaries who entered the Ndebele state and its tributary area after the 1850s. Their view of the Rozvi was consequently coloured by the consciousness of the Shona people of this fall. Thus although Mauch in 1872 was able to collect a relatively straightforward account of a powerful Rozvi 'empire',[6] a decade earlier, even before the surrender of the last Changamire to the Ndebele, the Rozvi were being linked with the fall of the Zimbabwe and the wrath of the god 'Molimo' or 'Mwari'.[7] From then on, most accounts of the Rozvi contained at least one mythical element which had the function either of stressing their former power or of relating that power and the pride that went with it to their subsequent fall.[8] In this, of course, the writers were reporting what their informants believed to be true, but the myth-making did not proceed much further because the writers were neither concerned with an existing power nor with history in itself.

Following the European occupation of the Shona country, more information on the Rozvi was collected, as the Native Department began an unfortunately short-lived programme of historical research by its officials.[9] This was conducted on a local basis, and consequently the Rozvi usually appeared, when they did appear,

as the predecessors of the Ndebele and as participants in local politics. In some cases the officials' informants were themselves Rozvi, while in others the official assumed that the situation in his district was true for the whole country.[10] Once again, however, little attempt was made to combine these separate sources into any historical or anthropological account of the Rozvi, until the writings of F.W.T. Posselt and Charles Bullock appeared.[11]

Posselt, as Native Commissioner, Marandellas, was in a position to collect Rozvi traditions from the Rozvi communities in the extreme south of his district, but a great deal of his information consisted of unacknowledged borrowings from the Native Department files containing the work of the earlier researchers. Since his work was unreferenced, it was difficult to be sure whether some pieces of information came from Rozvi or other sources. Posselt's work had taken its basic shape by the early 1920s, and was only modified after this.[12] It was essentially an ethnography with a strong historical element, and Posselt was conscious of the importance of the Portuguese sources available to him. Essentially, it was F.W.T. Posselt who founded the Rozvi 'empire'. Aware of the Portuguese references to major political units among the Shona in earlier centuries, and knowing that there had been a powerful Rozvi political unit in the south-west before the Ndebele which figured in the local histories of many other Shona dynasties, he named some seventeen groups who were the subjects of the Rozvi, in his pamphlet of 1923.[13] Four years, later, with no more evidence, he had extended this rule to 'all' the Shona.[14] According to him, all these Shona rulers were appointed by the Rozvi in the ceremony of *kugadza ushe*,[15] tribute was usually paid in skins, ivory, and livestock, and so on.[16] That little or no effort was made by Posselt to discover precisely when and where these events occurred or how and why the *kugadza ushe* took place is no real criticism of him: his was a creditable attempt to depict the Shona past in a respectable manner to a basically prejudiced Rhodesian public. What is to be criticized is the failure of later workers to question Posselt's generalizations.

One writer who both criticized and added to Posselt's work was his contemporary Charles Bullock. Taking a more anthropological approach, and drawing most of his evidence from the Hartley and Lomagundi districts, Bullock was aware that the picture given by Posselt was not true everywhere. He pointed out that in some areas the Rozvi exercised no control, although sometimes the 'Korekore' of the Mutapa state and Urungwe areas did so. He was

aware that local factors governed the choice of rulers far more than Rozvi appointments. He questioned the respect in which the Rozvi were held in some areas, and saw them as very similar to the ordinary Shona. On the other hand, while this was a healthy display of scepticism, Bullock was prepared to believe that where and when the Rozvi did install rulers, it was on account of their supposed religious power. He also tended to see the 'true' Rozvi as a kind of disembodied force in a static anthropological structure, which emerged from time to time to install rulers.[17] In this, he was being less historically conscious than Posselt, but his work together with Posselt's became standard Native Department texts, and many Native Department officials who later collected traditions were influenced by these books. The Rozvi were by the 1930s beginning to assume a much less realistic appearance than the original Portuguese evidence had indicated.[18]

The next major group of writers to take notice of the Rozvi was that of the archaeologists. Since the Changamire Rozvi were well known to have occupied stone buildings of the Khami culture before the *mfecane*, and since Randall-MacIver and Caton-Thompson had already proven beyond serious doubt that the Khami-culture buildings were of relatively recent construction, the research team of Summers, Robinson, and Whitty in the 1950s was only building upon earlier foundations as far as the Rozvi were concerned. Unfortunately, these foundations were not entirely sound. Robinson followed R.N. Hall in accepting the claim of the Jiri branch of the Rozvi that it had lived at Khami, the earliest of the big Khami-culture ruins.[19] As has been seen above, this claim was not reliable, but it was used to link the Rozvi with the *foundation* of the Khami culture, and even with the Zimbabwe culture.[20] The archaeological evidence on Zimbabwe and Khami from the 1950s onwards, backed by radiocarbon dating, was apparently formidable, but it was in fact weak on the post-sixteenth-century period, largely because the archaeologists were not very familiar with either the documents or the traditions on this period. Unfortunately, the historians did not remedy this weakness.

In the rise of specifically African history in the 1960s the Rozvi enjoyed a special place. This was the period when 'empires' were fashionable — as long as they were 'African' — although the historians variously called the Rozvi organization an 'empire', 'confederacy', or 'state'. They were very much concerned in the stress of what seems today to be a perfectly obvious point, that the African peoples possessed a 'past', and there was undoubtedly a close link

between this and the requirements of modern nationalism. Of the great political units of southern Zambezia known to the 1960s historians — the Mutapa, Changamire, Gaza, and Ndebele — the Changamire Rozvi emerged as a favourite. Although the various historians varied in their interests and often disagreed on details, there was a remarkable unanimity of tone where the Rozvi were concerned. The Zimbabwe, Khami, Torwa, and Mutapa cultures and states were all associated with the names of Changamire and Rozvi in various ways, though there was no general consensus on the way this was to be done.[21] The various aspects of the earlier writers on the Rozvi were brought into play. The Rozvi were militarily strong and both hostile to and victorious over the Portuguese.[22] They were more peaceful than the Nguni of the nineteenth century.[23] They were linked in some way with Shona religion and especially with the Mwari cult.[24] They ruled all or almost all of the Shona-speaking peoples,[25] and all rulers had to be confirmed by them,[26] though in practice the realities of local politics were acknowledged.[27] The countryside was profoundly peaceful and extremely prosperous,[28] with both wealth and craftsmanship concentrated at the stone buildings under construction as capitals.[29] Yet although the Rozvi rulers received considerable amounts of tribute and traded on a large scale,[30] their system of administration was not an elaborate one and seemed to be rooted in moral force rather than coercion.[31] Even after the fall of their state, apparently, they were so highly regarded that for some mysterious reason it was the 'custom' for them to install rulers as in the old days,[32] and they were seriously credited with influence in the 1896-7 Shona risings.[33]

That there are some inconsistencies in the picture given by the accounts summarized above is obvious, and none of the writers cited has claimed all of the facts noted to be true. But each of them has adhered to the image of 'power and glory' of the Rozvi, as reference to the tone of their writings will show. If the rule of the Rozvi had actually corresponded to the image given above, then it would indeed have been an empire, but such an image must rest on actual evidence if it is to endure. Already, the picture given by the historians of the 1960s has been cut down to size by further research, and it has been shown, for example, that Zimbabwe had ended as a culture almost two centuries before the Rozvi became powerful; that the rise of the Changamire dynasty as a real force was in the late seventeenth century, not the late fifteenth; that Changamire forces did *not* attack Tete, Sena, and So-

fala in the 1690s, and that the role of trade in the Changamire state has been exaggerated.[34] This chapter will further cut down the image of the Rozvi by sticking as closely as possible to the available evidence, and the picture to be given shows a much less impressive body as a result.

But the point of this section is not to show that previous historians have made mistakes, so much as to indicate how the present popular image of the Rozvi has appeared. So far we have dealt with writers in European languages and their view of the Rozvi, but it must not be forgotten that, ever since the rise of the Rozvi, the Shona-speaking peoples have had their views concerning them, some of which have been passed on to European writers and others of which have developed within Shona-speaking society. Nor must we forget that the Shona people have been literate for a long time now, and have in turn absorbed ideas from the writers in European languages. All of these factors have complicated our understanding of the Rozvi, and other peoples, of course.

Consider the Rozvi themselves; during the eighteenth century they not only had an excellent opinion of themselves, but it paid them to have it. They were known as the fiercest fighters on the Plateau, and their undoubted military victories were backed up by the terrible, albeit untrue, stories of their desecration of graves for medicine, that were just as likely to be fabrications by the Changamire as by Portuguese clerics.[35] The Rozvi warriors had the reputation of being arrogant, uncouth bullies, and this reputation not only helped to keep the Portuguese out of the Plateau but made sure that their claims to paramountcy over the other Shona were treated with respect by the Portuguese. From this they derived considerable economic and political advantages.[36] Even after the fall of the Changamire state the name of 'Rozvi' remained a valued one. Some remained in the Changamire state area as subordinates of the Ndebele, and others re-established themselves on the upper Sabi, where for a while their raiders backed up a minor revival of Rozvi power in that area.[37] Where the Rozvi still had some strength of numbers, they could intervene in the politics of the central and southern Shona in alliance with various factions within the Shona dynasties, and in such cases it was to the advantage of both parties to stress the legitimacy of the Rozvi connection, both to the rest of the Shona and to the incoming Europeans, including the Native Department. Where Rozvi backing for claimants to Chieftainship under the Europeans was successful, there were material rewards for the Rozvi.

Moreover, for the Shona people themselves the nineteenth century was in many places a violent era, and the period of Rozvi rule acquired an attraction that it may not have had earlier. A certain nostalgia for a pre-Nguni, pre-European past appeared as time went on.[38] The coming of literacy led such men as Aron Marwodzi to record their own researches into Rozvi history, these researches being strongly influenced by their individual backgrounds.[39] In one area the researches of M.V.J. Rukara succeeded in popularizing a magnificent but fundamentally incorrect and strongly biased Rozvi history that was not only widely accepted in his native Bikita — for political reasons — but was influential elsewhere.[40] Societies devoted to the revival of the Changamire or Mambo title of the Rozvi appeared at various times.[41] Literacy also brought the researches of Europeans to the Shona: in 1942, for example, four thousand copies of a Shona book that included Rozvi histories based on Posselt were distributed from Morgenster, while from the early 1960s the graduates of the University College in Salisbury began to teach in African schools the findings of the historians of the time, with seminar papers and text-books to back them up.[42]

In short, the Rozvi even more than the rest of the Shona have acquired a historiography without a history, and since this chapter will be written as much as possible as though no earlier histories had been written, the picture to be given will differ radically from them. The Rozvi will be shown to be made up of a number of ordinary Shona dynasties, only some of whom were united under the Changamire dynasty to rule the old Torwa state in the Khami-culture area. The Changamire state will be shown to be noticeably poorer than its predecessors, and to have little or no connection with the tradition of prestige stone buildings. It will be shown that there was no 'empire' in the sense of a large area dominated by any kind of regular administration, but instead there were irregular areas of tributaries that changed from time to time according to the fortunes of the state. Life for the Shona under the Rozvi will be shown to be much more violent than was previously believed, and that in very many cases the Rozvi role in all this was peculiarly passive. In short, this chapter seeks to bring our view of the Rozvi in line with the evidence; only with the discovery of more evidence are they likely to approach their old stature.

ii. The origins of the Rozvi and the fall of the Torwa state, 1683-96

The word 'Rozvi' most probably comes from the verb *kurozva*, to destroy, and was originally used by the Portuguese to mean the warriors and supporters of the Changamire rulers of the eighteenth century, whose state was known as Vurozvi, Ukalanga, Gore, or Goremukuru.[43] The Shona peoples also used the name in the same way, but they extended its meaning to cover several groups whose relationship to the Rozvi was not entirely clear to the Portuguese. In the first place, it applied to the Changamire dynasty of the *moyo/mhondizvo* totem and the various branches of this family, including those which only travelled part of the way towards the south-west, those which settled along the southern edges of the Plateau, and, in a less precise fashion, to members of the *moyo* clan of the same general origin who settled the south-eastern highlands at about the same time as the conquest of the Torwa state. The point of origin of all of these groups was, as has been pointed out, the central *moyo* nuclear area, between the Mazoe and Nyadiri rivers.

Since the Rozvi were exogynous, like any other group, they had to marry into families of other totem clans. Consequently there were non-*moyo* groups who were termed Rozvi, and were accepted as such by them. Indeed, many of these groups were much closer to the central Changamire dynasty than some of the *moyo* Rozvi. The central *moyo* nuclear area contained several of these non-*moyo* Rozvi groups who remained there until they were conquered by immigrant dynasties in the eighteenth century. Other non-*moyo* Rozvi or Rozvi associates went part or all of the way to the south-west, and took an important part in Changamire politics. Having arrived in the south-west, the Changamire dynasty settled among the existing population of the old Torwa state. Some of the important subrulers of the Torwa joined the Changamires, and continued to serve under them; thus they too became known as Rozvi. Certain other non-*moyo* groups which claimed to be Rozvi, and which lived on the eastern borders of the Changamire state probably had similar origins. Finally, there were two major migrations out of the Changamire state in the eighteenth century, one to the Mafungabusi plateau and the Deka river area north of the sandveld that bordered the state, and the other to the Venda country. Both of these spread the name of 'Rozvi'. In brief,

the designation of 'Rozvi' to various Shona groups is due to different relationships or political alignments in different areas at different times in the eighteenth century. This accounts for the varying definitions of the term that have been used in the past.

As pointed out above, however, the original use of the Rozvi name was for the warriors of the Changamire dynasty, and the career of the founder of that dynasty in the last half of the seventeenth century gives us the only authentic case of state formation in Shona history that is known to us from both documents and traditions, for the rise of the Zimbabwe, Torwa, and Mutapa states is only recorded by archaeology or unreliable traditions. The documents simply indicate the date and location of this event, while the traditions must be regarded with caution, but together they give a consistent picture of the kind of process that was much more common in the nineteenth century in southern Africa.

The rise of the Changamire of the late seventeenth century was not the first occasion when this dynasty had attracted the attention of the Portuguese. It will be remembered that from the 1480s to the 1540s there had been a Changamire dynasty which rebelled against the Mutapa and then retreated to a position athwart the trade route to Sofala. But the last that had been heard of these earlier Changamires was their defeat in *c.*1547-8, and although it is likely that the later Changamires were descended from them, since the name is an unusual one, there is no definite proof one way or the other.[43] The true founder of the Changamire dynasty and state arose out of the violence and confusion of the Portuguese attempt to conquer the Mutapa and Torwa states in the middle of the seventeenth century.[44] In periods of upheaval like these, as in the *mfecane* of the nineteenth century, those who could command a strong force were apt to get stronger, as more and more people attached themselves to a growing force for safety's sake, or were forcibly incorporated. The great armies of the *prazo*-holders, the moving groups of the *mfecane* and the forces of the Rozvi had a great deal in common in their beginnings.

In spite of traditions of a southern origin that relate to either a very old association of 'Guruuswa' with the south on the lines of Mutapa traditions[45] or a very recent origin-myth that has arisen in Bikita,[46] the bulk of the documentary and traditional evidence points to the Changamire Rozvi emerging in the north-east of the Plateau in general, and the *moyo* nuclear area in particular. Conceição wrote that the seventeenth-century Changamire made his

base in 'some lands of Mukaranga which border on those of Abutua' — from which he could 'frighten' all the lands of Mukaranga! — in other words, in lands between the Mutapa and Torwa state. This, in Conceição's view of the geography of the Shona, was still a wide area, but Caetano de Mello de Castro located Changamire more precisely, between Mukaranga and Manyika, but closer to Manyika.[47] No Portuguese source was more accurate than that, but Shona traditions at the beginning of the twentieth century were in general agreement with the documents, and some Rozvi sources were and are more specific. In the 1890s and 1900s all the traditions of the Changamire Rozvi, collected only sixty years after their fall, claimed that they came from the same quadrant, between east and north-east. Some — possibly confusing the Changamire Rozvi with the stone-building Torwa — located the Rozvi origins in the east, in the direction of Manwa (Zimbabwe) and Melsetter.[48] Others named the lands beyond the Sabi, in the general direction of the Portuguese — most probably in the north-east.[49] But a tradition of the surviving Changamire Rozvi of the upper Sabi, which survives to the present, specifically names the area around the Zhombwe and Hurungwe mountains in the central *moyo* nuclear area as the home of the Changamire dynasty before its conquest of the south-west.[50] Since this was the most specific and reliable of the traditions collected before Rozvi quarrels and Rozvi historians began to confuse the issue, since it accords fairly well with the Portuguese sources, and since, as we have already seen, the *moyo* nuclear area was settled by *moyo* Rozvi, *moyo* groups, or other Rozvi before the current occupants arrived, the *moyo* nuclear area has therefore the best claim to being the original base of the Changamire dynasty.[51] Moreover, a very persistent tradition concerning the tree Mutiusinezita on the Hunyani headwaters and its connection with the Rozvi, which appears to predate any modern political alignment in the area, tends to confirm this.[52]

This north-eastern grouping of the Rozvi in the late seventeenth century cannot be called a state, although it was to give rise to one. It was obviously in existence for only a short time before the conquest of the south-west and lacked the settled society and organized administrative hierarchy that is implied by the use of the word 'state'. It was obviously much more like the communities which, although still agricultural, turned frequently to raiding under such leaders as Sisnando Dias Bayao or António Lobo da Silva in the north and east at that very time, or many of the great

figures of the nineteenth century in Southern Africa. Like these other groups, the Rozvi at this time were obviously very much under the influence of the personality of their leader. That there was such a powerful personality is clear from both documents and traditions, but the details about him are not. We do not even know his personal name with certainty: the Portuguese called him Changamire, and continued to call his successors by this title, although within the Shona country the Changamire was more often simply called 'Mambo'. But they gave us no other name. One of the most common names for the first Mambo in early Rozvi traditions is Dombolakonachingwango, or Dombo for short. Another tradition gives Chikura or Chikurawadyembewu as an equivalent figure who founded the Rozvi rule over the Shona and conquered the south-west. Certainly, the 'Dyembewu' title was used even more often than that of 'Basvi' as an alternative praise name for Rozvi rulers in both the Changamire state and its Venda offshoot.[53] But it does not follow that traditions about specific individuals such as Dombo or Chikura are reliable. Dombo, for example, was said to have fought the Ngwato, long before they existed as a distinct group.[54] The Chikura figure, though linked in tradition to a fairly straightforward account of the fall of the south-western state, is now also linked to a story of a miraculous birth and the intervention of the high-god Mwari.[55] Dombo and Chikura, in other words, are probably equivalent to Mukombwe in the Mutapa dynasty, exaggerated hero figures made up out of one or more real people, though reflecting a real person's exploits. Similarly, although many of the traditions about the Rozvi as a people — such as their attempts to move mountains or to build towers to the moon — cannot be taken literally and are mainly used to contrast the pride of the Rozvi with their fall, some of them do appear to reflect a Rozvi presence in certain areas.[56]

The rise of the Changamire Rozvi was originally, as we have seen, in the north-east of the Plateau, and although the Changamire was involved with the conquest of the south-west at the same time as he was at war with the Mutapa Mukombwe and the Portuguese, it is easier to deal with the north-eastern wars first. Previously, we have seen the events of the 1680s and 1690s from the Mutapa point of view; now we must look at them from the other side, even if this unfortunately involves repeating some facts. Changamire's rise to power probably began in the 1670s, and was well advanced by the 1680s, and although he had died by early 1696 there was no real difference between his policy and that of

his immediate successor. Although it was said in the 1680s that the Changamire aspired to the rule of the Mutapa state,[57] no-one at that time thought that he was of the same line as the Mutapa.[58] He was said to be a herdsman of the Mutapa Mukombwe until he gained his lands as a result of the Mutapa's favour, or so Conceição wrote,[59] but it seems much more likely that the official grant of land had been made after it had already been conquered by a leader who used the Mutapa herds to attract a following, just as many *prazo* grants were made after the land had been taken. In general, Changamire was thought of as a rebel against the Mutapa,[60] and in the sense that he had begun the building of his power with the seizure of the lands that had been under the Mutapa, he certainly was. This in itself is enough to explain that attack made upon him by Mutapa Mukombwe in 1684.[61]

The policy of the Changamire towards the Portuguese at this time was extremely hostile, though it has been exaggerated by historians. Although the Portuguese had declined in numbers and influence in the Mutapa state in the 1670s, largely because of the effects of their own ravages, no Shona ruler could be unaware of their potential ability to do harm. We have already seen how Mutapa Mukombwe rebelled against them, and how Mutapa Nyakunembire finally made an alliance with the Changamire against them. This was basically because in the 1680s and 1690s the numbers of Portuguese in the country were beginning to increase.[62] According to a tradition collected a century later, the Portuguese in Manyika had been paying tribute to the Changamire, but had then refused to do so and had provoked an attack.[63] Caetano de Mello de Castro's attempts to defend the Portuguese power in Manyika had resulted in due course in a Portuguese move into Maungwe, the land ruled by the Makoni dynasty. Makoni traditions make no mention of this, but there are traditions that may relate to his period, to the effect that the Rozvi tried to move Tikwiri mountain, so Maungwe may have been an area where the early Rozvi maintained a special interest. The result of Mello de Castro's move was a major battle in which he was defeated.[64] It was probably because of this that Manoel Vaz referred to the Changamire in 1688 as the fatal enemy of the Portuguese.[65] Nevertheless almost a decade passed before another clash occurred — possibly because the Changamire was busy in the south-west — and when it did, it was the result of a Mutapa initiative.

In 1693 the Mutapa Nyakunembire, for reasons that have already been explained, called in the Changamire to help him

against the Portuguese.[66] The result was a raid in November on the *feira* of Dambarare, where all the Portuguese were killed. The news of this reached all the other *feiras* on the Plateau, and although most of them were not touched by the Rozvi, all were abandoned except Manyika. The deserted *feira* of Masapa in the Mutapa state was burned, and the Portuguese feared Rozvi attacks on Tete, but these did not materialize. The Changamire had abandoned Mutapa Nyakunembire to follow his own interests, leaving only eight men who were not sufficient to stop Pedro Mhande's bid for the Mutapa title in the next year. By 1694 the interest of the Rozvi had swung back to the eastern Shona country, and when Nyakunembire was expelled from his state by Mhande he found the Changamire back in Maungwe. Manyika was invaded in 1695 and after a while both the Shona territory and the Portuguese *feira* fell. The Portuguese in Sena and Sofala feared attack, but this never materialized because the Changamire died and his sons began to fight for the succession. Thus ended the famous campaigns of the 1680s and 1690s.[67]

Historians have made a great deal of these wars in the past, and with some justification. The effect upon the Portuguese was immense: not until the Changamire state had fallen did they attempt seriously to re-establish political control on the Plateau, for fear of the Rozvi. For the same reason they looked upon the Changamire state as the overlord of all the Shona, and looked to the Rozvi rulers as the guarantors of their trade. The Portuguese saw their expulsion from the Plateau as retribution for their own misdeeds, and on the whole the historians have agreed with them.[68] But it should be pointed out that there were only three battles in all — four if one counts the 1702 raid into the Mutapa state that briefly put Mutapa Samutumbu into power[69] — and that Tete, Sena, and Sofala were not attacked. Most of the *feiras* were abandoned because of the threat of attack rather than actual attacks. Moreover, historians have tended to think of the whole episode as though the Changamire was a south-western ruler of the Khami-culture area who was extending his power to the north-east after, apparently, two centuries of inactivity.[70] In fact, they have been seeing things back to front: the Changamire was in the 1680s a north-eastern ruler who was in the process of conquering the south-west. This was an equally remarkable feat, but the forces that fought the Portuguese, though probably partly drawn from the south-west, were almost certainly raised largely from the central *moyo* nuclear area in the north-east. Thus the Changa-

mire's ability to threaten Maungwe, the Mutapa state, and Manyika was not so surprising; the conquest of the Torwa state was, but this feat has not been seriously discussed recently, because the historians have dated the Changamire state's foundation to the 1490s, although in fact it was the most significant event of the time.[71]

In the last chapter it was explained how a combination of a civil war and the ambitions of the Portuguese led to the conquest of the Torwa state was almost certainly weakened. Moreover, the success of Bayão was visible to the rest of the Shona as well as to the Portuguese, and it showed how a more sustained effort could win a rich prize, for the Torwa state of 'Butua' was still known as a major source of gold and an area of great cattle herds.[72] The Changamire of the 1680s was therefore presented with the contrast between the north-east, wasted by warfare and famine and disease and still exposed to the influence of the Portuguese — this was before their removal from the Plateau — and the wealthy but weak condition of the south-west. Moreover, it seems likely, given the overall pattern of Shona movements and settlements over the whole Later Iron Age period, that there may have been the beginnings of overcrowding of the north and east. Under these circumstances, the Rozvi movement out of the central *moyo* nuclear area was understandable both as a result of the ambitions of the Changamire and as the result of more impersonal economic and environmental forces.

The Portuguese view of the conquest of the Torwa state was put into a few brief statements, statements which nevertheless fix the event in time. The Shona traditions give far more detail, especially about events and places, but naturally give no dates. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the same process is being described. In 1683 a writer was noting that the generic name for the rulers of Butua was Torwa; he may have been a little out of date, but probably not by much. In 1685 the Changamire was linked to Butua for the first time. By 1696 at the latest the Changamire dynasty had taken over the south-west and its important capital, and the Torwa had been defeated.[73] There seems to be no doubt that the whole process of conquest was a relatively quick and easy one, and this is roughly what the traditions imply.

The traditions start with the story of Hurungwe hill, how it fought with Zhombwe hill and how the Rozvi leader Dombo tried to make it into his throne.[74] This seems to symbolize the rise of the Rozvi to power, while another account that appears to belong

to the same general tradition tells of how Chikura, apparently another name for Dombo, was born to a virgin and became famous in the first place for eating the seeds out of the ground as a child. Later in his life it became clear that his father was in fact the god Mwari, and it was said to be Mwari who called him to lead the Shona.[75] Obviously, these early parts of the tradition are as symbolic and unreliable as the equivalent foundation-myths of other Shona dynasties, but later on they get more specific. In the first place, the traditions remember a period of insecurity, in which Chikura-Dombo's relation Mavudzi was forced to flee to the land of the *shava*-totem Gwenzi-Chivero dynasty on the Umfuli. This led in time to the Changamire buying Chivero's support with cattle. The tradition which tells of Mavudzi's escape from his enemies in this way is a standard one in Shona myth and was used to explain the relationship between the Mavudzi and Chivero dynasties in the twentieth century,[76] but it is the direction that is significant here, since Chivero's land lay between the central *moyo* nuclear area and the Mafungabusi plateau. Both old and new traditions claim that when Chikura-Dombo set out to conquer the south-west, he went by this route, while Conceição's claim that the *feira* of Chitomborwizi near the Angwa headwaters was troubled by the Changamire in the early 1690s would tend to support this.[77] In short, it seems possible that the Changamire Rozvi made an alliance with Chivero using cattle from the Mutapa's herds to buy it, in order to be able to approach the Torwa state by a less obvious route, from the north rather than the north-east.

By the end of the seventeenth century the Khami culture was no longer based on Khami. This building was by then in the western lands ruled by a Kalanga named Ndumba, and the Bembesi was the boundary between him and his superiors of the Torwa dynasty who were based on Danangombe and Naletale, and possibly on some of the smaller buildings nearby.[78] Rozvi traditions have often referred to the predecessors of the Changamire, Tumbare *bepe-moyo* and Chihunduru *soko*, as living on a hill or hills, and one version claims that Chikura built his own hill, higher than theirs, out of earth with ivory steps, to overshadow theirs.[79] It seems fairly obvious that this tradition refers to the artificial hills of the Khami culture, with their ivory tusks set into the sides of their staircases,[80] and although the older traditions tend to suggest that the Changamire Rozvi only added to existing buildings rather than started any new ones,[81] there is no doubt that they used the Khami-culture buildings, especially those of Dana-

ngombe and possibly Naletale, from then on. In 1831 the Portuguese heard of the three *kungoma* (drumlike objects?) made of stone upon which the Changamire lived, and Changamire huts were still standing there in the 1900s.[82]

The traditions of the conquest of the south-west by the Rozvi are generally expressed in terms of myth nowadays, and there are stories of how Tumbare and Chihunduru repelled the Rozvi by their magic and their swarms of bees until the Rozvi used treachery to win, by offering wives who then betrayed the magic secrets of their husbands.[83] Older traditions gave a much more down-to-earth account of an ordinary conquest, though they stressed that there was very little resistance to the Changamire.[84] This point might be regarded with suspicion, since so many conquerors say the same thing to excuse their conquests, but the Portuguese documents tend to confirm this, in that they imply that the conquest of the south-west was a rapid process. Moreover, it seems unlikely that the Changamire could have devoted so much attention to the north-east in 1693-5 if the conquest of the south-west had been difficult.

It is hardly surprising that we know so little of the Changamire conquest of the Torwa. No Portuguese observed it in person — indeed, the Portuguese had more than enough to keep themselves busy at this time — and it happened too long ago for the traditions to give us a very reliable picture of what went on. We do know that it took place, because the documents and the traditions agree on the essentials of Changamire's rise in the north-east and conquest of the south-west. Nevertheless, we have a good deal of information from documents and traditions on the Changamire state in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which can be compared, to some extent, with the archaeological and documentary data on its Torwa predecessor, while there is a considerable amount on the history of the other Rozvi groups and the rest of the Shona outside the state. The rest of this chapter deals with these topics.

iii. The structure of the Changamire state, 1696-1831

As in the rest of this book, the term 'empire' has been dropped because it blurs the distinction between the 'state' that was directly under the control of the ruling dynasty and was closely associated with it in political and economic terms, and the tributary areas

that from time to time paid tribute and suffered or invited intervention by the overlord's dynasty in their own politics. We have already seen that although we know from the archaeological evidence that there were states centred upon Zimbabwe and Khami (and from documents in the case of Khami) we know little or nothing about their size or organization. In the case of the Mutapa state we have a great deal of documentation and the traditions of a more or less undisturbed population. But the Changamire state is somewhere between these examples. No literate Portuguese visited it, so that the documents are based on hearsay, while the traditions of the Changamire Rozvi have been disrupted by the conquest of their state by the Ndebele in the 1840s, the conquest of the Ndebele in the 1890s, and the various struggles for power among themselves since then. Thus we do not know as much about the Changamire state as we would like, even though there is no doubt that it existed as the most powerful state of southern Africa in its day.

Even the boundary of the Changamire state is not clearly known. Like the Ndebele state that followed it, it was bordered on the north-west by the great sandveld, where no cultivation could be carried out except along the rivers; this was a natural boundary. To the north there was a similar area of sodic soils, which had a similar effect on settlement, although there were, or had been, workable goldfields. But to the east and south the line is much more difficult to draw. In the far east and the far south there were areas which were obviously either independent or simply tributary from time to time; Buhera, Bocha, the south-eastern highlands and the area that was to form the Duma confederacy east of Zimbabwe fell into this category: there is no evidence at all for close Rozvi control and a good deal of evidence against it. In a way, the south-eastern lowveld represented another natural barrier, in that people could only live by the watercourses or hills, but the allegiance of these people who preceded the modern occupants is uncertain in the traditions, although it is probable that the Limpopo was the limit of the power of the Rozvi and the Venda.[85] There was a loopholed fort at Parari near the river, built as a defence against the Venda by Gumi *moyo*, a Rozvi leader who was so trusted by the Changamire that he could negotiate treaties on his behalf. But it is not certain whether it was built as a defence of the Rozvi state as a whole, or simply for Gumi's own group after it left the state in the nineteenth cen-

tury.[56] Farther west, the ultimate limits of Rozvi influence were the Shoshong hills and the Kalahari desert.[87]

The boundaries given above, however, do not indicate the limits of the Changamire state proper. They simply give us the line beyond which the state definitely did not reach. Within this line there were tributaries as well as the state proper, but it is extremely difficult to draw a clear distinction between the two, because even before the fall of the Changamire state there were migrations of Tswana, Birwa, Venda, Hlengwe, and the modern Karanga into this area. This had the effect of submerging most of the original subjects of the Changamire under a layer of new settlers, some of whom became tributaries in their turn but others of whom did not. The area that was untouched by these migrations of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was surprisingly small, and it corresponded almost exactly to the area settled by the Ndebele and the Rhodesians in the nineteenth century. If, in this examination, we have to leave a lot of questions unanswered, it is because most of the evidence has vanished, although sufficient remains to show that a state structure existed.

At the centre of the state as the Changamire or Mambo and his capital. This was probably at Danangombe for the whole existence of the state, except perhaps for the last few years when it may have been at Manyanga. Most of the traditions about Manyanga, however, deal with it because Changamire Chirisamhuru died near there.[88] Naletale and the other small stone buildings may have been used from time to time, and one tradition claims that Dombo originally settled at a place called Chivari before he occupied Danangombe.[89] The Changamire lived in a special hut called Chitoramano on the top of Danangombe, and his people and cattle were located inside and around the rough stone walls that extended from the buildings. There were almost certainly outlying villages attached to the main settlement, and the whole capital complex of Danangombe undoubtedly included a large population. But if there was any relationship between the size of the stone buildings and the surrounding population, and there almost certainly was, then Danangombe's population would have been much smaller than that of Khami, which in turn was far smaller than that of Zimbabwe. If the latter centre had as many as 10,000 people then Danangombe may not have had more than 1,000-2,000. Certainly the arrival of the Rozvi may have increased the population of the area, since the building by which we are trying to judge the settlement was probably built by the Torwa, but the

reduced size, compared with Zimbabwe and Khami, reflects fairly closely the general decline in gold exports over the whole period.

The Changamire dynasty had a structure that was typical of other Shona political groups, regardless of their size. There were the Mambo rulers themselves, and their relations descended from the same male ancestor with the same *moyo/mhondizvo* totem and praise name. Then there were the non-*moyo* Rozvi who had accompanied them from the north-east. Finally, there were the Kalanga-speaking people of the south-west, including both the 'Kalanga' ordinary people and their rulers, and the former members of the Torwa state's ruling group who were incorporated into the Rozvi. The Changamire's power rested on the support of all three groups, and it was possible to avoid relying too heavily upon anyone.

Immediately after Dombo-Chikura's death in 1696, after the fall of the *feira* and land of Manyika to his men, his son retired in some haste to take part in the succession back in 'Butua'. This son, called 'Sababec' by the Portuguese, apparently experienced opposition from his brothers in his claim to the Changamire title.[90] According to tradition, Dombo's son Washaya was offered the title but refused it, and it was taken by Nechasike or Nechapingura.[91] In another version, the second Changamire is said to have come to power with the help of the Kalanga ruler Ndumba, who had married his sister.[92] It seems certain that all these reports refer to the first of many succession struggles in the Changamire state. Indeed, only one succession in the Changamire state was not associated with a conflict of some kind. Nechasike means 'creator', especially 'creator of fire', a reference to the fire-ritual of the northern Shona, while Nechapingura means 'the skimmer or churner of milk', an indication of the cattle-consciousness of the Rozvi.[93] Nechasike was succeeded by his brother Nechagadzike, probably 'the installer of rulers', in an apparently uncontested succession. He may have reigned until 1767, not an impossible date for the youngest son of a man who died in 1696.[94]

From January to April or May 1768 there was a civil war between the old ruler's son and a 'usurper'. The facts behind this war are not known, but the death of the 'usurper' led to the accession of Mambo who may have been the one known as Rupandamananga. Rozvi tradition is unanimous about Rupandamananga's bad qualities — perhaps to justify his end. He is supposed to have failed in his duty as a ruler, in not aiding his people during a drought, thus gaining the name Rupengo ('mad'). According to Rozvi traditions, a conspiracy was organized among

his people at a time when the *shumba*-totem Mhari were invading the upper Lundi valley on the outskirts of the Rozvi state. Rupandamananga was lured into battle with the Mhari and then abandoned in the field to be killed.[95]

According to F.W.T. Posselt's Rozvi informants, the Mhari intervened in the Rozvi succession, and supported Gumboremvura as the next Changamire.[96] His name, 'Rain leg', implies that he was more favoured by the rain-giving deity than his predecessor. Gumboremvura was possibly ruling by 1802, and is said to have had a long reign. Generally speaking, he was seen as a popular ruler, although he experienced one very serious revolt that will be discussed below. After his death there was a brief contest between a claimant using the 'Dyembeu' title, and Chirisamhuru or Sabanko (Chapungu). The latter, aided by 'Dyembeu's' own sons, won the contest and became the last Mambo before the *mfecane* broke upon the Rozvi state.[97]

The relationships between these latter Mambos are unclear. Rupandamananga, Gumboremvura, and Chirisamhuru could have been grandfather, father, and son, judging by the consistency with which they appear in ruler-lists, but there is not enough evidence for us to be certain about this. The lands held by the Mambo himself appear to have been those in the very centre of the Changamire state, around the stone buildings of Danangombe and Manyanga, as might have been expected. Around these lands were placed the branches of the dynasty which did not succeed to the title, and who probably received their lands, as was the Shona custom, in compensation for their loss of this right. Thus the Washaya line mentioned in connection with the 1696 succession crisis received the Ghoko hills, Ndumba *moyo* (not the Kalanga Ndumba) settled at the Bubi headwaters, and other lands went to Swabasvi, and Karangwa or Chimakabwe, all cited as sons or brothers of Dombo-Chikura.[98]

The most important of these branches of the dynasty was that of Mutinhima or Mutevere. It was first referred to in 1802 as being superior to the Tumbare title-holder and second only to the Changamire. Traditions on Mutinhima's origins vary, and the first of the line is seen as the son of Chikura or of Gumboremvura. It does not help that the term for 'son', *mwana*, means anyone of the lineage who is in the same generation as the son of the person referred to, so that Gumboremvura's *mwana* could have been the son of his brother, the grandson of his uncle or even more distantly related.[99] The Mutinhima line, in other words, was

a branch of the Changamire dynasty which had become a distinct power in the state by 1800. Its closeness to the main dynasty can be seen in the tradition that the Mutinhima joined with the Mavudzi and Nerwande title-holders in an attempt on the life of the Mambo Gumboremvura; also by 1890 Mutinhima had come to dominate the Rozvi in Bikita, and in 1896 the leader of the Mutinhima house was elected Mambo by the Rozvi of the upper Sabi valley, including the Mavudzi.[100]

The lands controlled by the Mutinhima house were mostly on the eastern borders of the Changamire state. They included the Mulungwane range on the western edge of the core of the state, and a broad sweep of land along the eastern frontier in which the Mutinhima house appears to have had a special interest. Thus it was Mutinhima who allocated land at the head of the Kwekwe river to Wozhere's *shonga*-totem immigrants, and land on the Shashe to Chirimuhanzu's people. The area around Ndarikure, the tilted rock near the Shashe, was said to have been occupied by Mutinhima, and Venda traditions tend to link the name of Mutinhima with the Belingwe area. The Mutinhima house seems to have had two main centres, at the Mulungwane range and on the Kwekwe river. An indication of the power of the Mutinhima was that, like the Tumbare, he received a separate tribute from the Portuguese at Zumbo.[101]

The delicate relationship between the Mutinhima house and the main Changamire dynasty highlights one of the major problems encountered by all Shona dynasties in the past, that of the prevention of civil war between the houses. Shona 'custom' included such practices as the rotation of the succession between houses, the allocation of special lands and titles to houses debarred from the succession, recourse to spiritual sanctions representing the opinions of the people, ritual disqualification of claimants to a title for some alleged transgression or deficiency, or even the involvement of an outside force to install and support rulers. Shona history shows how unsuccessful these devices could be. The Mutapa civil wars in the seventeenth century, the succession struggles of the Changamire dynasty in the eighteenth century and similar events in the history of nearly every Shona land show that not even the most elaborate protective devices could prevent ambitious members of the dynasty from pursuing their own ends.

In such circumstances, much of the stability of any state depended upon the relationships between the ruler and those of his subjects who were not of his lineage and who therefore could not

hope to take the title for themselves in the face of the united opposition of the ruling dynasty. Such followers were therefore useful to a ruler who feared his relatives. We have already seen that the granting of lands to such non-related families was the Mutapa Mukombwe's solution to the problem of civil war. In the case of the Changamire dynasty there were two options open. One was to create special links with other people from the Rozvi homeland who were not *moyo*. The other was to move closer to the original inhabitants of the old Torwa state.

The closest allies of the Changamire among the original Rozvi were the Nerwande *soko/simboti* and Mavudzi *shava/mhondizvo* families. Their relationship with the Changamire was based upon the legendary birth of Chikurawadyembewu, and upon the *sekuru-muzukuru* relationship found within Shona families. This latter relationship

> is the most intimate and cordial relationship in the Shona kinship pattern. It is based primarily upon a conception of organic and mystical unity between a person and his mother's brother — both descendants in the same matriline. But according to classification principles, this relationship is extended to other maternal relatives. . . .[102]

Although Chikurawadyembewu's father was officially unknown, his mother was known to be Hanawu, daughter of Nerwande. Thus Nerwande's son would have been *sekuru* and the Changamire would have been *muzukuru*. Such a relationship, real in the lifetime of Chikura, could become perpetuated as a political institution. Thus, although Changamire's theoretical power was the greater by far, he could rely upon the Nerwande house for loyal support in most circumstances. Only if the *muzukuru* pushed his advantage beyond the endurance of the *sekuru* could he expect opposition. Chikura could also claim the Mavudzi as an equivalent of a *sekuru*. This was because Mavudzi, being only the husband of Hanawu in theory and not Chikura's father in fact, became *mai*, 'mother' of Hanawu and of the Rozvi people as a whole, calling Chikurawadyembewu *muzukuru*. This situation was extremely unusual and originated only in the official mythology of the divine birth of Chikura.[103] The two *sekuru* houses had different roles in the state. Whereas the Nerwande *soko/simboti* had possibly been a religious authority in the north, under the Changamire he became the 'spear' of the Rozvi, according to tradition.[104] The Mavudzi became the most prominent of the Rozvi in religious matters, which will be discussed below. It was significant

that both these houses were settled on the Bubi, not far from the Changamire capitals, in a position to render aid.[105] But in the complicated politics of the Changamire state, little could be taken for granted: in the reign of Gumboremvura the Mutinhima faction was supported by the Nerwande and the Mavudzi in an attempt on the Mambo's life.[106]

If not even the *sekuru* of the Changamire could be fully trusted, the people of the Torwa state offered a counterbalance. First of these were the Chihunduro *soko* and Tumbare *moyo* families which had been in occupation of the state at the time of the conquest. Although the leaders of these two families were killed by the Rozvi at the time of the conquest, the families themselves continued under the new dynasty. The Chihunduro *soko/chongu-washa* family does not appear to have had any special role in the Changamire state, but it is significant that the title continued to exist, and that when the Changamire dynasty was driven out of the state by the Ndebele in the 1850s and moved to the upper Sabi valley, the Chihunduro family went too; this was not true of all the *moyo/mhondizvo* Rozvi.[107] The Tumbare family, however, became the most important of the Changamire's subjects. Some traditions even refer to the Tumbare as 'Mambo', or as the Mambo's eldest son, which may refer to his previous rank under the Torwa.[108] The Portuguese referred to the Tumbare as the Changamire's secretary, and like the Changamire he used to send his envoys to Manyika to collect tribute, though he did not go in person. He also received separate tribute from the Portuguese at Zumbo.[109] But the Rozvi traditions remembered Tumbare as a war leader. He was said to have commanded a major raid on a Middle Zambezi ruler just before the *mfecane*,[110] and he was also a counsellor of the Changamire.[111] By the 1930s, traditions were more or less agreed that the Tumbare was the general in command of the Rozvi armies, although they differed as to the details of his career.[112] It has been suggested that the Tumbare used to act as regent on the death of each Changamire, in order to cut down the damage done to the state by the fighting claimants to the title.[113] This tradition only appeared in 1963, however, probably because the Tumbare was a regent for the twentieth-century Mambos of Buhera that were appointed by the Native Department, and the succession struggles noted above suggest that this device was not successful. But there is general agreement that there was intermarriage between the Changamire and Tumbare lines.[114] This made

for continuity between the old Torwa population and the new Rozvi settlement, and helped to strengthen the state.

Apart from these three main groups of Rozvi, there were others who seem to have been closely integrated into the Rozvi state. There was Benhura *dube/gumene-wakapiwa*, who lived in the north of the state on the Vhungu river,[115] and Sakadungwe at the Gwelo-Shangani river junction.[116] There was Boroma *tembo-shumba*, a Rozvi who lived at Svika hill on the upper Lundi, who may have been an ordinary tributary of the Changamire or a member of the state itself. But at this point the difficulty in distinguishing between the state and the tributary area becomes apparent once again. Because of their geographical position, there is no reasonable doubt that the aforementioned subrulers under the Changamire were in the state proper, except perhaps for Boroma. Given a ruler with the power of the Changamire and the short distances between his capital and these subrulers' settlements, and with the Mutapa state as an analogue, they must have been much more than ordinary tributaries. The Kalanga ruler Ndumba to the west of the Bembesi, on the other hand, was probably outside the state: the emphasis with which the Bembesi boundary was mentioned in the early 1900s seems to make this clear.[117] It follows, therefore, that the rest of the Kalanga beyond Ndumba's land and the Matopo range must also have been ordinary tributaries, since the definition of a state includes some sort of geographical continuity. There are traditions of a strong Rozvi presence at certain sites such as Taupye Mogala and Domboshava in the far south-west, but they appear to link the Rozvi with the Khami culture or even earlier ruins. Moreover, if taken literally, they would suggest either that the centre of the Changamire state was in modern Botswana, or that there was a second Rozvi state in the far south-west. In fact, the traditions seem to show a lot of feedback from other sources, and it is most likely that there had simply been a Rozvi outpost there at some time.[118]

One such outpost existed at Ndarikure, on the upper Shashe east of the Changamire state. At this place there was not only a rock that was said to have been shifted by the Rozvi but also a Rozvi community, aligned either to the Mutinhima or the Washaya sub-dynasties, which survived into the nineteenth century in spite of the immigration of the modern Karanga.[119] Other Rozvi communities around the south-eastern fringes of the state were not so lucky: their land was taken by the incoming Karanga, and little or no information about them remains. Indeed, several ruins that

probably date back to the beginning of the Khami culture and the Torwa state have been labelled as 'Rozvi'.[120] The *moyo* Mazhe of the middle Lundi valley,[121] the *soko/maregegwa* Rozvi who lived a little to the west,[122] Chikomba of the upper Nuanetsi, and Gambe on the south of Belingwe peak all were driven out by immigrants or were removed in the course of inter-Rozvi disputes.[123] Consequently we do not know what their relationship with the Changamire state was. There were several Rozvi dynasties of Changamire or Torwa origins which were established along the southern edge of the main plateau from the early eighteenth century onwards — Chizungu and Murove *chuma*, Nebgwine *shava* and Negari, Nyamhondo and Negove *moyo* — but these were obviously ordinary tributaries. Nebgwine's people were refugees from a dispute within the Changamire state who settled on the lower Tokwe, Chizungu may have been of Torwa origins, and the rest all claimed varying relationships with the Changamire Rozvi, but none of these differed noticeably from the rest of the Shona tributaries of the Mambo.[124] Indeed, according to the Belingwe Rozvi, Nyamhondo's Rozvi were classed as *tonga* (subjects).[125]

In short, the Changamire state lay between the Bembesi, the sandveld, and sodic soils of the north-west and north and an indeterminate line that ran from the upper Tokwe round to the southern edges of the great plateau. Within this area, the Changamire appears to have exercised close control. The basic force behind this control was the army. Just as the main evidence for the existence of the Zimbabwe and Torwa states was the stone buildings, which required a state organization in order to be built, so the main evidence for the existence of a Rozvi state lay in the army of the Changamire. In the 1680s and 1690s the Rozvi forces that fought the Portuguese probably came from the north-east, as was pointed out above, but by the middle of the eighteenth century the *moyo* nuclear area had largely fallen to immigrant groups, and the Rozvi armies came from the Changamire state in the south-west, as their distinctive dialect made clear. In 1743 a force of about 2,000 Rozvi reached Zumbo, and there was in existence at the same time another Rozvi force capable of beating these. In 1772 another Rozvi army relieved Zumbo from a Mutapa attack, and in *c.*1780 a force of some 3,000 soldiers appeared there again to support the Portuguese.[126] At about the same time, a large Rozvi force appeared in Manyika, to protect the construction of a new fort by the Portuguese and to dictate the terms of trade between the Rozvi, the Manyika, and the Portuguese. It camped at

Murahwa's hill just south of Manyika, and the main feature that impressed the Portuguese was the way in which the commander controlled a very rough bunch of men.[127] (The Zumbo force of 1743 had got out of control on the way home.) These armies were well-armed and disciplined enough to manoeuvre in an organized fashion, and like the *vanyai* of the Mutapa state or the *chikunda* of the *prazo*-holders they were divided into groups under commanders of varying rank. These factors made them the most respected fighters in southern Zambezia up to the *mfecane*.[128]

It is not certain how these armies were recruited. According to traditions, there was only a small bodyguard for the Changamire that was permanently under arms. It was called the *'abogranana'* (*gwanan'wana*, the wide-awake?) and the Rozvi of the 1900s thought it was much less 'military' than the Ndebele *amabutho*, but then they had not seen it at its height. The *gwanan'wana* was apparently recruited from young, unmarried men, who left it when they married.[129] This sounds like the *nyai* system of the Mutapa state: although the conditions of the two states were very different at that time, the one being in the valley drylands and the other on the Plateau, the Changamire state was called Unyai as well as Urozvi, and Plateau Shona who lived under the Changamire were called vaNyai by the nineteenth century.[130] It is therefore probable that even within the Changamire state there may have been a class of poorer young men like the *nyai* of the Mutapa, who had no cattle for their bride-price and who therefore substituted military service. All the rest of the Rozvi forces presumably came from the various Rozvi houses settled around the capital area, and only served for specific campaigns, just like many of the nineteenth-century Nguni. There was no recruitment from the tribute-paying, non-Rozvi Shona, who were known contemptuously as *tonga* by the Rozvi.[131] Nevertheless, the Rozvi ability to send armies as far as Manyika and Zumbo is convincing proof of the statehood of their political group.

There is very little evidence for the economic backing that made the organization of the Rozvi armies, and thus the power of the Rozvi state, possible. Once again, we suffer from the lack of first-hand accounts, for traditions are not explicit on this sort of point, tending to talk about the mystical support of Mwari and that sort of thing. In the period when historians confused the Changamire state with the Khami culture at its height, there was little theoretical problem about the economic backing of the Rozvi power. The Khami culture formed part of the Zimbabwe-Khami or

Ruins culture, and it was known that the culture as a whole was linked both to the greatest period of gold-mining in southern Zambezia and with the rise of the east African coast cities. It was therefore assumed that the Changamire rulers received tribute in gold, and that this helped to explain Rozvi political power. It was later argued, from Portuguese sources, that the Changamire enjoyed a monopoly over the gold trade.[132] It has since been pointed out that this was not always the case, and that there was no true monopoly.[133] Moreover, most of the gold-mining areas that were still operating towards the end of the Changamire period were a long way from the state, in the central and eastern Shona areas. Only the Manyanga goldfields were directly under the Changamire.[134] But an over-riding factor was that the entire gold-mining industry was on the verge of extinction. The mines were becoming worked out as far as Shona technology could reach, and before the *mfecane* the tradition of gold-mining was fading.[135]

Nevertheless, although some of the sources referring to the tribute in gold, and a wide variety of other goods, such as stock, skins, hoes, tobacco, and so forth, are unreliable, there is no doubt that such tribute was paid.[136] But we do not know how much tribute was involved. One Rozvi informant in the 1900s said that it was only paid every few years, not annually.[137] Thus, there is some doubt as to whether the state system was supported by tribute. Other sources of wealth available to the Changamire included the gold from his own goldfields at Manyanga, subject to the limitations mentioned above,[138] ivory hunted by his own people, and the loot from raids.[139] Once again, no single factor stands out as the economic base of the state. Contemporary accounts of the Changamire wealth in gold and ivory seem to have been exaggerated — there were only ivory tusks in the staircases at the Changamire capital, not whole forts and buildings of ivory[140] — and traditions do not suggest that raids by the Rozvi were common after the original conquest period.[141]

The south-western Plateau was always a major cattle-breeding centre, and the Changamire dynasty, having started as cattle herders in the north-east, built up some large herds during the eighteenth century.[142] This, obviously, was a form of wealth that could make itself felt in various ways, especially by supplying extra numbers to Rozvi houses — wives and their children in return for cattle — and by making Rozvi villages more secure from drought and famine than those of the *tonga*. This would tend to

lead to drought-stricken *tonga* villages supplying yet more wives and *nyai* to the Rozvi in return for grain supplied by the Rozvi who had accumulated it with their greater wealth. On the other hand, no contemporary document or early tradition specifically credits the Rozvi with the practice of *kuronzera*, the loan of cattle to a client, which is said to have been available to the Rozvi as a means of turning economic to political power.[143]

In the last resort the Rozvi, like everybody else in the Shona world, depended upon the cultivation of crops. This process did not normally lend itself towards the accumulation of political power because grain could not be stored for longer than about five years, if as long. On the other hand, in the short term a powerful ruler could make use of a grain surplus to feed his army and court, and his stores could be used to a limited extent to alleviate famines. Thus the Rozvi Mambo was said to have allocated food to those who came to work on his lands, and the Changamire Rupandamananga was said to have been unpopular because he failed to feed his people during a famine.[144] But, once again, the specific evidence on this that relates to the Rozvi is not detailed enough to enable us to draw any elaborate conclusions. The economic evidence on the Changamire state does not indicate any single factor that underpinned the state. Rather, each major branch of production and trade seems to have contributed towards the Rozvi military power that made the Changamire a state ruler, but the exact mechanism by which this was done is not fully known.

The evidence about the influence of religion on the Rozvi, or *vice versa*, is even more unsatisfactory than the economic evidence. The over-riding factor that governed traditions about Rozvi religion was the fall of the Changamire state; this so impressed the Rozvi and their subjects that it was seen to have a supernatural cause, and almost all accounts of Rozvi religion were built around it. The first version of this tradition was recorded four years before the Changamire Rozvi finally surrendered to the Ndebele in 1866, and it has appeared regularly ever since.[145] The basic message is that the Rozvi sinned against the god Mwari, and were punished for it by their fall. The variations are numerous, both in the details of the story and the basic orientation of the traditions. One version implies that the god Mwari was already in the south-west when the Rozvi arrived there,[146] another suggests that he may have come with them from the north-east,[147] although most are silent upon this point. The ways in which the Rozvi sinned against

Mwari also vary. Either a heretic son of Mambo burned Mwari's stone building,[148] or a heretic ruler tried to destroy the god by destroying the places from which its voice spoke,[149] or an ungrateful ruler failed to offer the shields of his defeated enemies or the loot captured in war to the god.[150] In any case, these traditions were used to explain the fall of the Changamire state, either by civil war or by the onset of the Ngoni, although a lot of other traditions were much more factual and saw the whole fall of the state as an ordinary historical event.[151]

The result of the widespread and long-lived use of this tradition is that very little of the evidence on the religious affiliations of the Rozvi is trustworthy. The nature of the tradition is that the more the Rozvi are seen to be dependent upon Mwari, or closely associated with him, the more dramatic their fall becomes for the purposes of story-telling. A tendency to exaggerate is an integral part of this particular tradition. (Indeed, a variant of this tradition has been used to explain the fall of the Ndebele state.[152]) Moreover, traditions concerning Mwari are subject to two over-riding factors that affect the reading of the evidence. In the first place, in the twentieth century there has been an adoption by Christian missionaries of the word 'Mwari' to mean the Christian God. This seems to have led to a spread of the word into areas where it had not been in frequent use before.[153] Thus a group of rocks in the land of Harava, which apparently had no definite connection with either the Rozvi or Mwari-worship in local traditions, is now known as *Dombo ra Mwari*. It is significant that these rocks are on the modern Epworth mission.[154] Secondly, since the mid-nineteenth century there have been reports and observations of a cult devoted to Mwari, which operated mostly out of cave sites in the general area of the Matopo hills — and which, for that reason, will be called the Mwari cave-cult here, to distinguish it from the question of Mwari-worship in general.

The Mwari cave-cult was centred on a number of shrines devoted to the worship of Mwari. The actual sites changed from time to time, and so did their relative importance, which seems to have depended a good deal upon the skill and personality of the priests of the shrine, so that a shrine that was prominent at one time might become dormant. Like most Shona traditional religious cults, the Mwari cave-cult was concerned with rain, the well-being of the crops, local politics and so on, but unlike most cults it maintained local representatives throughout the area in which it operated. These men were drawn from the local people in each

area, and were not sent out from the shrine, but otherwise they were very much like missionaries in that it was to their interest to gain as many worshippers as possible, and they were men of dual loyalties in that they were subject both to their local ruler and to their shrine priest in the Matopos.[155]

The point about this cult is that historians have tended to project it back into the Shona past in an attempt to understand Shona political history. Not only have there been links made with Zimbabwe and Khami, but a close link with the Changamire Rozvi has been frequently assumed. Blake-Thompson's belief that the cult showed the influences of oriental state systems has been adapted to suggest that the Rozvi used it as an intelligence service, and attempts have been made to link the totems of the twentieth-century priests to the political history of the entire southern Zambezian Iron Age.[156] Some of these links can be demolished easily: since Zimbabwe was probably abandoned about 1500 and since Khami was probably abandoned well before 1700, and since there have been changes of population since, it is most unlikely that traditions of Zimbabwe and Khami as centres of the Mwari cave-cult reflect anything other than the association of many ruins with 'Rozvi' and the association of 'Rozvi' and 'Mwari'.[157] Moreover, in the well-travelled countryside of southern Zambezia, the rulers would have adequate information from traders, hunters, travellers, and others, besides their own messengers and spies, so that the value of a religious intelligence system would have been much smaller than previously believed. But the major objection to this sort of interpretation is not only that it is unsafe to project a late nineteenth-century institution into the past as a static factor, but also that the available evidence on the cave-cult suggests very strongly that it was of Venda origin and was established in the Matopo area only towards the end of the existence of the Changamire state. A good deal of the evidence seems to suggest that it was actually in an irregular process of expansion during most of its period of observation by Europeans.

Firstly, the traditions of the shrine priests themselves give Venda origins, except when they choose to claim a Karanga origin to a Karanga clientele. Their Venda totems are variously translated into Ndebele or Shona as the occasion demands.[158] Secondly, the Matopo shrines all appear to have been established in the first half of the nineteenth century: that is the impression given by the earliest references to them, and there is no tradition that links them to any earlier episode in Rozvi history.[159] Thirdly, the cult

seems to have been expanding during a good deal of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It did not penetrate the Duma confederacy, which had its own rain-cult, until well into the twentieth century,[160] and many of the documents concerning twentieth-century Mwari-cult officials in the central Shona country appear to show the cult spreading as it must have done in the southern Shona country in the previous century, with 'missionaries' gaining a guarded acceptance from rulers who were not abandoning their own *mhondoro* spirit cults.[161] There is even some evidence that a branch of the Mwari cave-cult was established in the central Shona country by a man named Bonda in the 1890s.[162]

All this goes to show that the Mwari cave-cult can hardly have been a regular institution of the Changamire state during the eighteenth century. But how, in that case, does one explain the Rozvi 'link' with Mwari and certain other fragments of evidence? It is, of course, possible that the fall of the Rozvi state was linked to the coming of the new cave-cult from the south, and that possibly the Rozvi traditions of conflict with Mwari refer to a rejection of a new, incoming cult by the Changamire just before the fall of the state. But the Rozvi traditions stress a clash with an *established* religion, even though they vary considerably in other ways. How, then, did the tradition arise, and how can it be reconciled with the traditions of the Mwari cave-cult?

The answer would appear to lie in the distinction made earlier, between the Mwari cave-cult and the general worship of Mwari. The Rozvi tradition of conflict between the Rozvi and Mwari, which had taken shape long before the Christian missionaries adopted 'Mwari', does *not* associate Mwari with the cave-cult. That assumption has been made by the historians. The Rozvi traditions make Mwari the high-god, who sometimes spoke from the sky and sometimes from any object or person that took his fancy — a cow, a woman, a tree, a hut, some grass, a rock, and so on; the 'rock' version could admittedly be taken to refer to one of the Matopo shrines, but no early version of the tradition links the Rozvi worship of Mwari with any specific shrine in the Matopo hills or even with the Matopo hills at all.[163] European writers began to make the assumption of a link from 1896 onwards,[164] but Rozvi traditions only seem to have done so in the 1940s.[165] In short, the Mwari cave-cult appears to have been a new version of the worship of Mwari, which appeared in the south-western Shona country where Mwari was already worshipped in a different way. This, of course, involves the origins of Mwari himself, and

for the moment we leave the fragments of evidence for the Rozvi Mwari that exist outside the Rozvi tradition of conflict, to trace back the Mwari cave-cult.

The first Mwari cave-cult priests that came to found the Matopo shrines came, as has been pointed out, from the Venda country. As will be explained in more detail further on in this chapter, the Venda-speaking people had been conquered in the eighteenth century by a branch of the Changamire Rozvi, which founded a short-lived Venda sub-state under the Singo dynasty. Thus the Venda, who had already been conquered in some areas by the Shona-speaking Tavhatsindi, Twamamba, and Lembetu, were subjected to a second wave of Shona influence.[166] The Venda-speaking basic populations, especially the Mbedzi section, had a high-god named Raluvhimba, who was originally worshipped in a cave shrine. The Venda high-god had traits in common with the god of the Mwari cave-cult as he was known in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries — and also with Modimo the high-god of the Sotho — and by the late nineteenth century the Venda had come to think of Raluvhimba and Mwari as interchangeable names for the same deity, although they had once been separate.[167] They had given up worshipping Raluvhimba through a cave-cult, and there was a tendency to refer to the god of the Mwari cave-cult in the Matopo hills as 'Raluvhimba'.[168] This agrees closely with that cave-cult's traditions of origins in the Venda country: the civil wars of the Venda could well have led to the cave-cult aspect of Raluvhimba-worship moving north of the Limpopo, along with the Venda people who moved into the Umzingwani valley about this time. In other words, Raluvhimba's cave-cult merged with Mwari in the Venda country — hence the local association of Mwari with Raluvhimba — and then the cave-cult aspect of the religion moved north as a result of civil wars to become the Mwari cave-cult in the Matopo hills. (Naturally, if there was already a generalized Mwari religion in the Changamire state, as is being argued here, the Raluvhimba side of the name would have been dropped among the Shona.)

This still leaves us with two Mwaris, the hypothetical Mwari sky-god of the Rozvi, and the Mwari in the Venda country which merged with Raluvhimba. It has been suggested that 'Mwari' derived from initiation, and that the word has been moved from the realm of initiation to the concept of the high-god.[169] This argument is based on the meaning of the word outside the Shona area, but although there may be a connection between initiation and

the Shona 'Mwari' somewhere in the thousands of years of Bantu language development, it falls down on two points as far as any recent connection is concerned. On the one hand, the Shona have not practised initiation since at least the sixteenth century, nor is there any evidence that they have ever done so.[170] On the other hand, Venda traditions are explicit that Raluvhimba was the god of the earliest known Venda-speakers, the Mbedzi, and that Mwari was the god of the incoming Rozvi of the eighteenth century. According to the Venda, Mwari was the ancestor-god of the Rozvi, and it was a clash very like that of the main Rozvi tradition of Mwari that led to the Rozvi conquering the Venda.[171] In other words, Mwari came to the Venda out of the Changamire state in the eighteenth century.

This brings the ancestry of the Mwari of the cave-cult back from the Venda country to the Shona country in the eighteenth century, where according to the traditions of the Rozvi there was a worship of Mwari, but not through any cave-cult. The Venda traditions of Mwari in the past and those of the Rozvi are remarkably close as to the characteristics of the god. He spoke from the sky and he was an ancestor of the Changamire dynasty. This blood link was not mentioned in the early Rozvi traditions, but it was well-established in the upper Sabi valley area in the 1930s. According to this Rozvi tradition, Chikurawadyembewu was the son of a woman variously called Hanawu, Hana, Senwa, or Nehanda, but his father was unknown, and the tradition hints strongly that he was of divine origin. A Nerwande version claims that Hanawu's father was Mavudzi and that she married Nerwande, who was, however, not responsible for the birth. The weight of the evidence lies with the Mavudzi family, however, who claim that she was Nerwande's daughter and that Mavudzi married her, but that he was not Chikurawadyembewu's father either:[172] the father was thought to be Mwari.

This Rozvi tradition was principally used in the twentieth century to support the rain-cult operated by the Mavudzi dynasty, which had taken refuge with other Rozvi groups on the upper Sabi, and which called itself the 'mother' of the Rozvi on the basis of the tradition cited above.[173] Nevertheless, it tallies with some of the earlier Rozvi traditions. For one thing, the Changamire was accorded exaggerated respect — on formal occasions he was carried about and not allowed to touch the ground — although he was obviously not divine himself.[174] For another, some Rozvi-related groups were seen to pay occasional respects to Mwari that

resembled prayers to an ancestor in a manner unconnected with either the Mwari of the cave-cult or of the Christians. This happened at Zimbabwe in the eighteenth century and on the upper Hunyani in 1892.[175]

The existence of the Mavudzi cult and its tradition, these scattered ceremonies, the strength of the general Rozvi tradition of conflict between themselves and an *established* Mwari religion, and the Venda tradition of Rozvi descent from a Mwari god-ancestor all point to the existence of a Mwari religion in the Changamire state, unconnected with either the later Venda-Shona Mwari cave-cult or the use of the word by Christians, with a myth of the Changamire's descent from the god as its basis. Whether the Rozvi had elevated one of their own ancestor-spirits to the level of a high-god, or whether they simply claimed descent from an aspect of the existing high-god of the northern and eastern Shona, which was reported from the sixteenth century onwards, cannot now be told. But it is clear that this eighteenth-century worship of Mwari by the Rozvi was for themselves alone. It gave them a religious justification for their conquest of the south-west — Changamire Dombo-Chikura was said to have been called to do so by Mwari — but there is no evidence that it was ever used to aid them in their attempts to dominate the rest of the Shona. Claims that this was the case come from the dramatic confrontation between Mwari and the Changamire that is used to explain the *mfecane*, and confusion of the Mwari cave-cult with the earlier Mwari religion. Contemporary sources make no mention of the Rozvi using Mwari, but indicate that their power was based on military and economic strength.

This account of the structure of the Rozvi state has, as was promised, failed to answer a lot of questions, especially those dealing with the questions of the mechanics of social and economic organization. A long discussion of Rozvi religion has been able to do little more than indicate the existence of a Mwari religion of whose workings we know little. These limitations are built into the nature of the evidence. But this section has at least tried, by naming living sites and dynasties and cataloguing rulers and succession crises, to depict the Changamire Rozvi as a community of ordinary people, and to reduce the element of mystery to that supplied by the evidence rather than by the historians. If we think of the Changamire state as the most recent and poorest of the Shona states, based on a few old stone buildings surrounded by the huts, fields, and grazing lands of the people, capable of sending armies

far afield but without any elaborate religious power over the rest of the Shona, we will be getting closer to the truth. There remains the question of the relations between the Changamire Rozvi and their tributaries and the independent Shona, but before we can examine this question we must look first at the rest of the Rozvi outside the state, and then at the fall of the state and the later history of the Changamires.

iv. The Rozvi outside the state: Rozvi of the central Shona country, the south-eastern highland moyo, the Shangwe-Nambiya and the Singo

Although the conquest of the south-west by the Changamire Rozvi was a most striking event in itself, it was merely a part of a larger process. As has been pointed out elsewhere, there were major movements of dynasties taking place from the end of the seventeenth century onwards, which led to the foundation of most of the political groupings of the modern Ndau, Zezuru, and Karanga-speaking peoples. These movements had their origin in population pressures in the north and east, and in the pressures associated with the Portuguese attempts at conquest in the seventeenth century. Thus, even before the wars of the 1690s, there had been groups moving into the *moyo* nuclear area from which the original Rozvi were drawn. Satwa, a land just south of the Mazoe, had been occupied by a Rozvi called Tambi, until he was driven out by the founders of the *gumbo*-totem Musana dynasty, some time before the 1690s. The *mbano* people, who drove out the *gwai*-totem Gora dynasty just south of Satwa and founded the Chikwaka dynasty, seem to have moved at about the same time and came from the same area, the troubled Mutapa state.[176] It is a measure of the limitations of the Changamire, even in the *moyo* nuclear area, even when one of the dispossessed groups was 'Rozvi', that no attempt was made to drive back the incoming groups. On the contrary, the Rozvi connived at the replacement of the Gora line by the Chikwaka. These two traits, the lack of a collective Rozvi 'consciousness' that had any political significance and a reluctance to defend tributary groups against others that wished to take over their land, will be much better evidenced in our later discussion of Rozvi relations with the rest of the Shona, but for the moment it is important to notice that even before the victories of the Changamire in the 1690s, the *moyo* nuclear area was beginning to be resettled by incoming dynasties. This process was both a partial cause of

moyo Rozvi migrations out of the area to the south-west, and a consequence of it, as new dynasties moved into the areas the Rozvi had vacated during the eighteenth century.

Some of these movements by *moyo*, *moyo* Rozvi, or Rozvi dynasties out of the *moyo* nuclear area took place before the Changamire conquest of the south-west, or during it. Others occurred later. The general effect was of a gradual movement only a short distance from the point of origin. One of the earliest moves was that of the Gwangwava *moyo/mhondizvo* Rozvi group, which together with two allied houses settled in Bvumbura, on the western edges of Buhera, before the career of the great Changamire. The Gwangwava 'introduced fire' — that is, he probably brought Buhera, at least temporarily, into Changamire Dombo's group of tributaries — and accepted a daughter from the Hera dynasty of Mbiru.[177] The dynasty descended from Gwangwava has been cast in the role of a 'provincial ruler' of the Changamire Rozvi, dealing with minor disputes between the local rulers on behalf of the 'Rozvi empire'.[178] But there is only one case where the Gwangwava acted in this way, and for the rest of the independent existence of the title the Gwangwava rulers were just like ordinary Shona rulers. So, too, were the *moyo/wakapiwa* Samuriwo rulers, who moved from the Uzumba area to the little territory of Mani on the Umfuli headwaters, in the late seventeenth century. But the Samuriwo rulers were not generally regarded as Rozvi, although they received land from the local Rozvi subruler Gunguwo.[179]

Others who moved out of the *moyo* nuclear area included the Negomo dynasty, which as we have seen moved into the upper Ruya valley area some time in the first half of the eighteenth century, the Nyamweda, Tandi, and Nyandoro dynasties. Not very much is known of Nyamweda's history: this *moyo* dynasty moved from the Jeta hills in the extreme west of the *moyo* nuclear area to the middle Hunyani valley, but the date at which it did so is uncertain.[180] Tandi's group is supposed to have left the central *moyo* area in about the middle of the eighteenth century,[181] but there is some doubt about this in the Mangwende tradition,[182] and it may be that Tandi's *moyo* people were a branch of the main stream of migration that occupied the south-eastern highlands. Nyandoro's move from Fungwe in the north of the *moyo* nuclear area to the land of Tsunga on the upper Umniati seems to have taken place in the early eighteenth century, and its occupation of Tsunga was guaranteed by the Rozvi. The Changamire Rozvi occasionally used Nyandoro's as a temporary base when they were

attempting to influence Shona politics in the upper Umfuli area, but Nyandoro was not a true Rozvi: his *nhari/nendoro* line was apparently of Tavara origin.[183]

These short-range movements were obviously not part of any Rozvi plan to administer the central Shona area. Not all the groups involved were regarded as Rozvi, and only Nyandoro's, Gwangwava's, and Tandi's lines played any part at all in local politics, while in most cases it would be difficult to show that they were acting on the behalf of a distant Changamire ruler rather than for their own benefit. The idea that the entire Rozvi 'empire' was governed by local Rozvi intermediaries between the Changamire and the rest of the Shona, originally put forward by Weale in the 1890s and repeated since, falls down for lack of personnel. Weale was observing a local condition around the centre of Ndarikure;[184] but these scattered Rozvi of the central Shona country were located where they were for reasons of their own, just like any other Shona groups that required land. The divergence between 'Changamire' history and 'Rozvi' history becomes even sharper when we examine the *moyo* conquest of the south-eastern highlands. This occurred at about the same time as Changamire's conquests, but was the work of several closely associated dynasties, mostly of the *moyo* totem, rather than of one supreme ruler. The end product, too, was different. Perhaps because of the mountainous country, perhaps because of the vitality of the *dziva*-totem dynasty of Musikavanhu, founded by the rain-maker Nyakuimba some time before, no state was founded in the highlands. Instead, a number of new lands and dynasties were established, with a vague supremacy headed by the Mutema dynasty of Sanga.[185]

The *moyo* dynasties, coming from the *moyo* nuclear area at the same time as the Changamire conquest of the south-west, could fairly be called Rozvi, and many Rozvi recognize the link to this day, but it is important that too much should not be read into this. Ferrão's account of *c.*1810 states that the Mutema dynasty of Sanga, with its capital at Ngaone, was founded by the Changamire.[186] This is entirely reasonable, since the *moyo* conquest of the south-east was at the same time as the Changamire conquest of Manyika in the 1690s. On the other hand, it does not follow from their common origins that the south-eastern *moyo* dynasties formed part of the Changamire state or even that they were very closely associated with it for any practical purposes. The south-eastern *moyo* and the Rozvi state were separated by consider-

able distances as well as by the drylands of the Sabi valley, and in the eighteenth century the rise of the Duma confederacy, which was not Rozvi-oriented, provided yet another barrier. In a fairly detailed and comprehensive set of modern Ndau traditions there is practically no reference to any involvement of the Changamire in the government of the south-east. Nor did the Mutema ruler exercise the same sort of power over the rest of the south-east as the Changamire exercised over his own state. There were marital relations between some of the main dynasties, including Mutema, and in time many of the non-*moyo* groups claimed a blood relationship with Shiriyedenga (the founder of Mutema) where there was none, but it does not seem that Mutema collected tribute from the other rulers or regularly confirmed them in their titles after a succession. In short, the *moyo* Rozvi settlement of the south-eastern highlands was far more like the *moyo* nuclear area in its political structure than the Changamire state, or even the Rozvi-originated Singo sub-state in the Venda country.

From the foregoing, it can be seen that the Rozvi of the Changamire state were only the south-western arm of a double movement out of the *moyo* nuclear area, and they were the only ones that constituted a state. The other *moyo* Rozvi people involved, the scattered groups that moved only a short distance away from the nuclear area and the *moyo* settlers of the south-eastern highlands, did not constitute their own state formations and were only very loosely associated with the Changamire. As for the *moyo* nuclear area itself, scarcely any of the original Rozvi dynasties, the subjects of Changamire Dombo during his rise to power, survived the middle of the eighteenth century. There are traditions that the Changamire had laid down boundaries, marked by stone cairns, to try to keep the peace in this area, but the boundaries and these Rozvi dynasties were swept away by new groups coming from all points of the compass.[188] Neharava *shava* fell before Seke's group from Bocha in the beginning of the eighteenth century, Ditoti's *soko* Rozvi before Chinamhora's Shawasha at about the same time. The Rozvi of Tondova and Nyamunga just north of the main watershed and of Gunguwo just to the south had all been driven out by about mid-century by Mangwende and Chihota. Mbare's *shumba* dynasty went at the end of the century when the northern Hera arrived, and of the original 'Rozvi' or *moyo* occupants, only Rusike's line survived. Even in the south, the Hera broke the bounds laid down for them by the Rozvi. It is difficult

to avoid the conclusion that the outward migrations to the south-west and south-east had created a power vacuum that was swiftly filled.[189]

The other Rozvi outside the Changamire state were those who migrated from it, in two eighteenth-century movements that have aroused a great deal of interest in the past. One of these was to the north and north-west of the state, and the other to the south, and both of these were made across or around areas that were unsuitable for settlement, drylands or sandveld, so that close contact with the original state was lost. The first of these, to the north and north-west, is nowadays seen in terms of a single migration, but it is more likely that there was a series of gradual movements. For one thing, the section of the migration that went the farthest seems to have started at the beginning of the eighteenth century, while the part that only travelled half the distance seems to have done so in the middle of the century.

North of the Changamire state, as has been pointed out earlier, was a vast expanse of sandveld, in which the soils were considered unfit for human occupation if the people involved wished to grow crops. Theoretically, it should have been possible for a group of agriculturists who wished to cross, say, from the Bubi headwaters in the Changamire state to the Deka and Matetsi valleys on the other side of the sandveld, to do so in the time between the reaping of one crop and the planting of another. Certainly hunters and traders would have been able to find out the agricultural conditions in advance. The fact that the traditions are adamant that this was not done, but rather that the migrant people moved all the way round the sandveld by way of the Mafungabusi plateau, suggests that the direct move was too much of a gamble. The most obvious reason why this should be so was that there was already a basic population in occupation of the lands in question, so that if they resisted the newcomers the latter would be forced back into the sandveld to starve, if they lost the fight.

The basic population of the Mafungabusi plateau was Shona-speaking, led by dynasties dating back to the 'Guruuswa' movements, such as Vumpa, Nyamasasa, Mufungu, and Mupare. North and west of the plateau in the direction of the Zambezi, however, the people were not Shona-speakers at all, but matrilineal groups such as the Valley Tonga and the Leya. To some extent, the eighteenth-century Rozvi migrations actually extended the area of the Shona language, in this case the Kalanga-dialect cluster, by establishing it where there had been no previous Shona population; but

in other areas the familiar pattern of absorption of an incoming group by a basic population occurred, so that some 'Rozvi' dynasties came to speak Valley Tonga. The identity of the newcoming Rozvi is not clearly established. Nearly all of the rulers were of the *soko* or *shava* totems and it was only in the 1920s that some of them began to connect their 'Rozvi' past with a claimed early *moyo* totem; and it is not certain whether they came from the Changamire Rozvi proper — it will be remembered that these were of many totems — or from the population of the old Torwa state. On balance, it seems likely that the first of the groups to make the move was descended from the Torwa, because it spread the tradition of stone-building, but in any case all of the migrants called themselves Rozvi and claimed that they represented an extension of Changamire power. Whether this was so, of course, was another matter: it is quite likely that the basic reason for the migrations was some kind of rivalry connected with land pressures within the state.

Sawanga of the *soko* totem was the leader of the Rozvi group that went the farthest. He left the Changamire state, went north to the Mafungabusi plateau and then went down the rivers to the rivers to the west, thus avoiding the sandveld, to arrive on the Lower Gwai. Beyond this river were the Deka and Matetsi valleys, inhabited by matrilineal Leya under Nekuluba. These were conquered, and some stone buildings were made out of the local non-granitic rock, to serve as capitals for the new Wange dynasty. These Rozvi began to call themselves Nambiya, and their Kalanga dialect became dominant in the area. (The Saba and Pashu branches of the same migration, however, stopped in Tonga country and in due course became Tonga-speakers.) On at least one occasion the Nambiya applied to the Changamire for assistance in the choosing of a new ruler, but in general they seem to have been independent of the Changamire state, although they were just within range of Rozvi raiders.[190]

The second wave of Rozvi who moved to the north conquered the Mafungabusi plateau and settled upon it, taking the inhabitants' name of Shangwe for themselves. The conquest is described in tradition in terms borrowed from a common pool of Rozvi or northern Shona myth, and the result of the conquest was the establishment of a confederacy, led by the Chireya *shava* dynasty. As in most other Shona confederacies, the confederal power sometimes amounted to little more than generally acknowledged genealogical

superiority, but the Chireya attempted on various occasions to subject other members of the confederacy to his authority, to conquer the Gova people, a mixed Shona and Tonga group on both banks of the Zambezi, and to divert the trade between Zumbo and the Changamire state through his territories. The new Shangwe, including Nemangwe, Njerere, Nenyunga and Negande *shava*, and Nebiri and Sampakaruma *soko*, occupied a very large area between the Umniati, the Zambezi and the sandveld, but their real importance lay in their strategic position across the trade routes, for their environment was not really favourable and the people were forced to keep close to the rivers.[191]

This north-western migration of the Rozvi gave rise to a persistent myth that has flourished for over a century. In the upper Zambezi valley beyond the Victoria Falls there was the state of the Luyana people. After its conquest by the Kololo in *c.*1840-64, the state and its people were known as 'Lozi', and from 1885 its ruler Lubosi became known as 'Lewanika'.[192] The similarity between the names 'Rozvi' and 'Lozi' led many Shona people to believe that the Lozi must be of Rozvi descent, and this connection was being claimed as early as the 1880s. More elaborate versions claimed that 'Lewanika' was a Rozvi who had been 'looking for a country', or words to that effect.[193] This myth has had some assistance from Europeans: Francois Coillard wrote that, 'What *I* have told [the Lozi about the Shona] leads *them* to believe that they are of the same stock'; but it was widely believed among the Shona, even among those who lived closest to the Lozi, the Nambiya, who should have known better.[194] But a close study of Lozi history shows that the extension of the north-western migration of the Rozvi into the Lozi state was a myth: there is no evidence at all to support it.

There *was* a major Rozvi migration elsewhere, but it was to the south, to the Venda country. It seems to have taken place in the last half of the eighteenth century, and involved Rozvi of the Changamire dynasty, judging by the specifically Changamire names and titles that were remembered: Mulozwi (Murozvi), Velela-mbeu (Dyembeu), Ntindima (Mutinhima), Thoho-ya-ndou (Sororezhou), and Mambo. It came from the Changamire state area, possibly from the eastern part of the state around the Belingwe and Buhwa mountains, since this was where Mphephu's Venda elected to go in 1898 when they had to flee the Venda country (although of course this event may well have influenced the traditions).[195] The reasons for the migration are not clearly indicated by the

traditions, which use the same tradition of Rozvi conflict with Mwari that was referred to earlier.[196] Again, the answer may lie in land shortage within the Changamire state.

The traditions concerning the migration vary. Much of the intervening land between the Changamire state and the fertile Venda-speaking country of the Zoutpansberg was the dryland of the south-eastern lowveld. Consequently, the tradition that claims that the journey took two to three generations was almost certainly exaggerated: because of the large areas of dryland, it must have been relatively quick, quicker than equivalent journeys on the Plateau where migrant groups could afford to stop every fifty miles or so.[197] The Rozvi arrived at a natural gate into the Zoutpansberg, the Nzhelele valley. Here, as in the rest of the range, they found earlier Shona immigrants, Tavhatsindi, Twamamba, and Lembetu, ruling alongside and over the original Venda-speaking Ngona and Mbedzi, where the Thovela state had been in the 1720s. The Thovela name survived only as an ordinary title for local rulers, and as a name for the high-god.[198] The first Rozvi settlement was at Tshiendeulu hill in the Nzhelele valley, and it was not far from here that they built, or added to, the stone capital of Dzata. The local Tavhatsindi ruler, Netshiendeulu, remained in the area but as a subject of the Rozvi, who assumed the local collective name of Singo.[199]

Thus, a sub-state of the Shona was established among the Venda among the survivals of earlier Shona settlements. In due course, all these Shona were absorbed culturally and linguistically by the Venda, but in the process a great number of Shona traits were transmitted, and because these have been much easier to discuss in the past than the admittedly complex political history of the Venda, this very brief account of the Rozvi in the Venda country will attempt the latter.[200] The Singo sub-state was a conscious attempt to recreate the main features of the Changamire state. There is no doubt that for all practical purposes it was independent: the distances of the dryland separating the two areas would have made it impossible for the Changamire to have exercised direct control. Changamire claims to have ruled the Venda are equalled by Changamire admissions that they were hostile, and all Venda accounts are adamant that the Singo sub-state was locally controlled.[201] But the similarities between the two were striking. The Singo kept the Changamire title of Chikurawadyembewu, altering it to Vele-la-mbeu, they also claimed descent from Mwari, and they converted a praise name of Mwari, Sororezhou, into a

title, Thoho-ya-ndou, that was used by claimants to Singo supremacy right up to the end of the nineteenth century.[202]

It is difficult to be certain how long the state endured, or exactly when it was founded, although it was after the 1720s. Some genealogies take all of the praise names of the rulers and convert them into separate rulers with separate reigns,[203] but it seems unlikely that the sub-state existed for more than two or three reigns before it broke up, which would put its foundation sometime in the second half of the eighteenth century.[204] The first ruler, Dimbanyika, conquered the Nzhelele valley, but it appears that the extension of Singo rule was carried out by his son, Masindi or Phophi. The title Thoho-ya-ndou is especially associated with this period of greatest Singo glory.[205] It is claimed that the Singo ruled some of the southern Karanga, but this is not really supported by traditions from north of the Limpopo, and it is more likely that the entire lowveld area was subject to occasional Venda raids just as it was in the late nineteenth century.[206] It was evidently in the reign of Masindi and his son Tshisevhe that Singo rule reached its greatest extent before the sub-state broke up. The Ramabulana house occupied the south-western flank of the Zoutpansberg with a base at Tshirululuni and responsibility for the Singo herds in that area.[207] The Lembetu of the Mutale valley had been beaten fairly early in the Singo conquest of Venda, but the first actual Singo occupation of the Mutale valley appears to have been the work of the Tshisevhe house, which settled at Makonde.[208] The third main area of Singo conquest was on the south-eastern flanks of the range, north of the Luvhuvhu river, where the Tshivhase house became dominant with its base near the Phiphidi falls.[209]

For a while the united Singo dynasty seems to have received the tribute of the entire population of Venda, Venda-speakers and others alike.[210] The geography of Venda was not in favour of unity, however, and the temptation for the outlying Singo houses to convert autonomy into independence must have been strong. Like the Changamire, the Singo rulers tried to counter-balance these centrifugal tendencies by favouring certain houses that could not succeed to the supreme title, such as the Ndalamo who were also of Rozvi origin,[211] and the Mphaphuli house, which was closely associated with the dynasty but which was probably of different origins.[212] Other features adopted by the Shona-speaking immigrants were the Venda custom of initiation and the worship of the Venda god, Raluvhimba.[213] Nevertheless, in spite of these advan-

tages, the Singo sub-state fell apart. A young ruler was defied by the houses of his brothers and uncles, and in spite of the aid of the Mphaphuli house he was beaten. His disappearance was symbolized by the Venda myth of Thoho-ya-ndou's mysterious disappearance.[214]

The result of the civil war was that the Singo sub-state broke into two main sections. Ramabulana's house took the Nzhelele valley and the south-western flanks of the Zoutpansberg, while Tshivhase's house took the eastern valleys, becoming independent dynasties. This process was well advanced by the time of the *mfecane*, and the subsequent wars between the Singo, the earlier Shona and Venda groups, the Afrikaners, the Nguni and a host of other forces do not concern us here. They give ample reasons for the widespread migration of Venda-speakers of both Shona and Venda origins, as well as of the cult that blended the Venda cave-cult of Raluvhimba with the Rozvi-Singo cult of Mwari, across a wide expanse of southern Zambezia in the nineteenth century. This very brief outline of Singo history does not do justice to the fascinating history of Venda, but since it is intended merely to show where the Venda relate to the Changamire Rozvi, this is unavoidable.

This section completes the outlining of the Shona-speaking groups of Rozvi descent, from their origins in the central *moyo* nuclear area during the violent seventeenth century to their farthest limits of expansion. It can be seen that the name 'Rozvi' cannot be automatically linked to state organization. Those original Rozvi living in the central *moyo* nuclear area, and those who moved a short way or the whole way to the south-west or to the south-eastern highlands, were not doing so as part of any process of state formation or even under the primary influence of Changamire Dombo, but rather under the much wider and more impersonal influence of population pressures and disruptions caused by war. One looks in vain for any sense of statehood in the Rozvi communities of the central Shona area or the *moyo* dynasties of the south-eastern highlands. On the other hand, the Changamire Rozvi of the south-west did think of themselves as state rulers just as much as their Torwa predecessors, and they spread this idea to their Nambiya and Singo offshoots.

v. The fall of the Changamire state and the survival of the Rozvi idea, 1831-1977

To both the Shona and European historians, the fact of the fall of the Changamire state in the 1830s and 1840s has proved a tremendous temptation to interpret the last years of the state in the light of that fall. We have already seen the effect that this tendency had on the interpretation of Rozvi religion. In much the same way, people have looked at the nature of the Changamire state in order to discover signs that presage its fall. Another factor was that, even though the fall of the state was a fairly rapid process, its speed was exaggerated for effect by both Africans and Europeans. Indeed, both Ndebele and Europeans tended to talk and write as though the Changamire dynasty had ceased to exist before the Ndebele arrived. It was true that the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had seen major droughts and serious civil wars, that there was an overall economic decline in progress and that the goldfields were almost worked out, and that there were major population movements which the Changamire could neither stem nor entirely control; but it must also be admitted that the Rozvi experienced some shatteringly bad luck. The *mfecane* subjected many of the states and peoples north of the Limpopo to the passage of many groups of Ngoni and Sotho, and many of these states and peoples were raided or even occupied for a while by one or more of the *mfecane* groups, but these raids or occupations rarely lasted for long, and in southern Zambezia at least the effect was not permanent nor was the basic pattern of settlement or politics altered. But the Changamire state was crossed or attacked by at least six such groups in a decade, either because of its geographical position or its wealth. Moreover, just at the time when the Changamire himself had been killed by the last of the Ngoni groups, and the state was therefore leaderless, it so happened that two large sections of the Ndebele state which had just broken up south of the Limpopo came together on the western borders of the state, and their former ruler Mzilikazi was able to regain control. This, too, seems to have involved a strong element of chance, and it is no wonder that the Rozvi blamed their fall on Mwari.[215]

It is sometimes forgotten that the Changamire state survived nearly a third of the momentous nineteenth century in reasonably good shape. In mid-1831 no hint of disaster had travelled along the trade routes to Sofala. The Changamire was still living at Danangombe with four rusty cannon and a lot of muskets to

guard his person, his ivory, and his herds.[216] His personal name was Chirisamhuru, and he had come to power, as mentioned earlier, after a struggle with another claimant. This, however, was not unusual in Rozvi politics. The most significant events of his reign so far had involved the gradual loss of the Kalanga country of the south-west to the Tswana. In the late eighteenth century the rise of the Khurutshe and Kaa around the Shoshong hills had coincided with the decline of Rozvi influence in that area, and the Ngwato who joined them and pushed north of Serowe by *c.*1817. Kgadi, their leader, began to raid the Kalanga tributaries of the Rozvi around the Matopo hills, until he was killed in a battle in about 1826.[217] This obviously affected the Changamire hold on the south-western tributary area, but it left the state itself untouched.

Suddenly, the state was attacked by a whole series of assailants. The first was that of Mpanga of the *zhou* totem, who was said to be a Sotho. His group entered the state from the west, past the Mulungwane hills, was defeated by the Rozvi and went back to the south.[218] At almost the same time, the Ngwana Maseko Ngoni arrived from the Venda country, by way of the south-eastern lowveld. They, too, were beaten off and went on to the central Shona country.[219] Hardly had they gone, when Zwangendaba's Ngoni appeared — all this took place within a couple of years — and this time it appears that more damage was done, for Zwangendaba was frequently, although incorrectly, credited with the death of the Changamire. But even so, Zwangendaba did not remain within the state; his two seasons' stay in southern Zambezia was mostly centred on his camp at Satwa hill, on the middle Mazoe, before he crossed the Zambezi in 1835.[220]

The most dramatic blow fell after Zwangendaba's departure. Another group of Nguni led by the remarkable female warrior Nyamazana, a relative of Zwangendaba's, arrived in the state. By this time, the strength of the Rozvi had been badly shaken, for the effort of fighting three different hordes in about as many years had eroded the ability of the *gwanan'wana* to resist. Accounts of what followed vary, but it seems that Nyamazana was beaten in the first battle but made a second assault on Danangombe in which the Rozvi were beaten. Changamire Chirisamhuru fled in the direction of Manyanga, and was either killed on the way or after he arrived.[221] (The most-published version, to the effect that he committed suicide, is also the least reliable.[222])

Nevertheless, it is important to realize that the state did not come to an end with Chirisamhuru's death, as some historians have claimed. The *mfecane* was not over, for Nxaba's Ngoni appear to have passed by very rapidly some time after 1836, and the Ndebele were yet to come, but the basic structure of the state remained.[223] Almost all of the constituent members of the Changamire state remained on their own lands, and although the Rozvi herds had been mostly removed by the Ngoni it was still possible to begin the rebuilding of the defences of Danangombe.[224] But there was no Changamire.[225] Chirisamhuru's death had thrown open the succession at the time when the state was at its weakest point since its foundation, and neither the Tumbare nor the Mavudzi or the Nerwande were able to fill the gap. Their role in the state was to support the Changamire, not to replace him. In many ways the situation resembled that in the Ndebele state between 1893 and 1896, with a weakened state and no ruler, and the analogy becomes more apt after the arrival of the Ndebele themselves in 1839-40.

The first Ndebele were those under Gundwane, who arrived in the lower Umzingwani valley in *c.*1838 and reached the upper valley a year later.[226] They were the larger segment of the Ndebele state under Mzilikazi, which had broken up under various attacks shortly before. Gundwane was evidently acting on his own, for shortly after he settled he tried to make a son of Mzilikazi the ruler. This was forestalled by the arrival of Mzilikazi himself from the north-west; the civil war that followed, and that re-established the nucleus of the Ndebele state, seems to show that it was more or less a coincidence that the state was re-established where it was.[227] Again, this was most unlucky for the Rozvi. When the Ndebele arrived, there was still no recognized Changamire, and each Rozvi house had to make its own decision as to what to do. The leader of the Mutinhima house was attacked at his western base on the Mulungwane range, and after some resistance he was defeated and went to his eastern area of influence.[228] Many of the other Rozvi houses, including those of Swabasvi, Lukuluba, and Lozani, voluntarily submitted to Mzilikazi,[229] and a system grew up in the early 1840s, which extended as far north as the land of Tsunga on the upper Umniati, whereby the Rozvi tributaries received cattle to herd in return for a levy of young people.[230] The fact that the initial Ndebele settlements were made to the west of the Changamire state meant that for a little while — the decade of the 1840s — the structure of Rozvi settlement remained as it was. But the exchange of cattle for people was in the long run unfavourable to the Rozvi, and in the late 1840s and early 1850s

there was a rebellion against the Ndebele, conducted on traditional lines by a new Changamire.

A son of Changamire Chirisamhuru named Tohwechipi had withdrawn into the hills that lay to the east of the old Changamire state, but a Rozvi tradition from the Insiza area suggests that he was persuaded by Mzilikazi to return on a tributary basis, and that this actually worked for a few years until he decided to resist.[231] A similar attempt was made to call in the Mutinhima leader, but it failed.[232] Probably in the late 1840s Tohwechipi, who had the praise name Chibamubamu, was recognized as the Changamire by both the Mutinhima house and the Portuguese, and under his leadership the Rozvi, including the Swabasvi group, along with other Shona such as Chirimuhanzu's son Chizema, began to raid the Ndebele herds and villages.[233] This war was still in progress in 1852-4, but by 1857 Tohwechipi had been defeated. He had retreated past Nyaningwe, past Chikato near Zimbabwe, where the pursuing Ndebele were beaten by *zvitunya* (strong people with guns) from the Portuguese area in a rearguard action, to the Mavangwe hills on the upper Sabi.[234] There he resisted until he was finally forced to surrender after a long siege in 1866.[235]

The fact that the Rozvi had been able to choose a new Changamire, and especially that the potentially dissident Mutinhima house had come under his direction, as well as the fact that they were able to go on raiding the Ndebele up to 1854, shows that the Changamire state had not come to an end on the death of Chirisamhuru. Equally, it had definitely come to end by 1854, by which time the Rozvi who remained in their old homes formed part of the new Ndebele state. If a precise date must be assigned to this 'event', then it lies somewhere between the two. But this was not the end of the Changamire Rozvi as a political force. It will be impossible to understand Rozvi relations with the rest of the Shona and the tradition concerning them, unless it is realized that the idea of Changamire rule did not die with Chirisamhuru and that there was even a shadowy renaissance of Rozvi power on the upper Sabi after 1857.

The great Ndebele campaigns against the Rozvi in the late 1840s and early 1850s were not directed solely against Tohwechipi. Rozvi leaders were attacked wherever they could be found, and battles were fought at the Mpopoti and Umgulugulu ranges.[236] Sometimes it was sufficient for a leader to be identified to the Ndebele as Rozvi for him to be attacked.[237] The upshot of this was

that inside the area of Ndebele settlement, the Rozvi who had remained there in large numbers, many of them under their own subrulers, became Ndebele-speakers and thoroughly identified themselves with the Ndebele, while the Rozvi who had lived on the fringes of the Changamire state remained as tributaries to a new master. Thus Lukuluba and Lozani became Ndebele, while Chizungu, Mtubayedzi, Nyamhondo, Negari, Negove, and Murove mostly became tributaries. But large numbers of Rozvi had identified with Tohwechipi's revolt, including most of the important officials of the old state, such as the Tumbare, the Mavudzi, the Nerwande, and the Chihunduru , as well as the Mutinhima faction. These, and others, arrived on the upper Sabi in the 1850s.

The Mavangwe range where Changamire Tohwechipi made his last stand up to 1866 was only one of the areas taken over by the Rozvi. The Bepe hills just to the east were probably taken over by the Tumbare and Chihunduru houses.[238] These ranges were just to the south of the Sabi, but to the north of the river, in the angle between it and the Ruzawi, were the great strongholds of Dombwe, Nyamupara, Maninga, and Muswawu, with their interlocking caves. This area was seized by the Mbava house, a *moyo* Rozvi house that was not closely related to the main Changamire line and that may have been a survival from the Torwa period.[239] Even the lands beyond the Ruzawi, in the angle between that river and the Macheke, were occupied by the Mavudzi, Nerwande, and what came to be known as the Chiduku houses.[240]

It is obvious, of course, that these refugees did not constitute a state, but in the context of upper Sabi politics this was a most important development. For one thing, the Rozvi had chosen an area that was well-defended, with a lot of rapid rivers and strongholds with caves. For another they had chosen a spot in between the biggest political units in the area. Maungwe under Makoni lay to the east, Mbire III under Svosve lay to the north-west, and Buhera under Nyashanu to the south, but from the point of view of each of these rulers the area taken by the Rozvi was in the backlands of his own area. Consequently, there was no strong ruler to oppose the Rozvi, and they easily conquered the existing Shona inhabitants of the new lands, whom they contemptuously termed *tonga*.[241]

The most obvious omission in this new Rozvi domain was a Changamire or Mambo. Changamire Tohwechipi was taken to Mzilikazi after his capture in 1866, and then allowed to return home. But there were quarrels in the Mavangwe hills, and most of

the Rozvi of the Changamire and Mutinhima lines in this range began to leave, drifting south. Tohwechipi died in Gutu some time afterwards, and it seems clear that his son Muposi Chikore never attained the same recognition as Changamire.[242] Muposi Chikore's group eventually entered the Duma confederacy and coalesced with other families to form the Gumunyu house, but in the meantime the Mutinhima house had stolen a march upon them. It, too, had moved south into Gutu, but after quarrels with Gutu's peoples it moved into Duma under Jiri Mutevere.[243] Even at that time, the Duma confederacy still retained a certain amount of power, although it was much weakened by the exactions of the Gaza, and the process by which the Jiri dynasty became the independent holders of valuable land in the heart of the confederacy is not clear. Certainly, it was prominent by 1890, and from 1895 it had the advantage of gaining the support of the pro-Rozvi Native Commissioner, Ecksteen, who regarded it as the natural leader of his largely Duma district.[244] Certainly, too, the prestige of the Mutinhima house was on the rise in the late nineteenth century, while that of the main Changamire dynasty was discredited by the death of Chirisamhuru and the surrender of Tohwechipi.

Meanwhile, on the upper Sabi, the Rozvi conquest of the new lands had made them a local force to be reckoned with, even though they never established a clear ascendancy. In the late 1880s and early 1890s Rozvi raiders were feared in most of the upper Sabi valley,[245] and this gave them the force to intervene in dynastic politics over a surprisingly wide area. In Bocha, the Marange ruler Nzvengwa who was ruling in the middle of the nineteenth century, called in the Rozvi to counter-balance a threat from the Mutsago house, beginning a tradition of Rozvi backing for Marange rulers.[246] At about the same time the Rozvi had attacked Nyashanu Mutema of Buhera in order to capture people — the threat of the Ngoni and Ndebele suggests why this was done — and then were called in by Nyashanu Maradzikwa to back up his house in a civil war.[247] Similar cases occurred in the Nyandoro dynasty.[250] Finally, in 1896 when the Shona rising was at its height, a deputation of most of the leaders of the upper Sabi Rozvi went to Bikita and brought back the Jiri leader Chikohore Chingombe to the Mavangwe hills to be the new Mambo.[251] There is no real evidence that this had anything to do with the Shona rising, even though three of the six upper-Sabi Rozvi leaders were involved in the fighting, but this event was of tremendous importance in Rozvi history, for it represented a distinct break with the

past in that a Mutinhima house leader was being offered the supreme title of Mambo by most of the surviving Rozvi leaders.

But 1896 was too late for the re-creation of a miniature Changamire state. The European administration was in control of the situation, and although Chingombe's dynasty was officially called 'Mambo' for a long time, the division of the upper-Sabi Rozvi into three districts made consolidation impossible even under the artificial conditions of European rule. As the twentieth century wore on, Rozvi politics grew farther and farther away from reality. There were societies devoted to the revival of the Rozvi Mambo flourishing in the 1920s and 1950s-1960s, but like the equivalent Matabele Home Society they lacked the land which was the basis of any successful recreation of the past.[252] In a sense, the writings of Native Department officials such as A.D. Campbell or F.W.T. Posselt, which often uncritically repeated the widest claims of the Rozvi to dominion over the Shona, aided the Rozvi cause by creating an atmosphere in which the European administration was prepared to regard 'Rozvi' confirmation of Shona chiefs as a 'custom' that should be considered, and in some areas, for local reasons, the Rozvi, especially an interest group on the upper Sabi led by one Foto Deka, made quite a good thing out of the fees they charged candidates for Chieftainship.[253] But as time went on, Rozvi disunity increased. The revival of the Chirisamhuru line as the leaders of the combined Gumunyu house in Bikita in the 1940s led to an impassioned feud with the Jiri dynasty, complicated by land shortages, Rozvi-Duma rivalry, Zionism, and nationalism, in which each side lobbied for support among the rest of the Rozvi and commissioned its own histories. Rozvi historiography suffered severely as a result, and this chapter has had to contend with the wars of the 1960s in order to obtain evidence on the eighteenth century. In this sense, the fall of the Changamire state is not yet complete.[254]

vi. The power of the Rozvi

The final major question to be considered is that of Changamire control over and influence among the rest of the Shona-speaking peoples. This, in particular, was one of the special interests of the historians who saw the Rozvi as their favourite imperialists during the 1960s. State systems tended to receive a good deal of attention at that time because they were seen to refute colonial allegations that Africans could not govern themselves. Consequently, there

was a tendency to exaggerate the exaggerations of writers such as F.W.T. Posselt where the governing powers of the Rozvi were concerned, although it has been shown that Posselt himself altered the extent of Rozvi overrule simply by altering the wording of his basic text. Nor was very much attention paid to the various types of Rozvi overrule or influence involved: a popular map in works of the 1960s showed a huge Rozvi 'confederacy' that bulged towards Tete, Sena, and Sofala, probably because of the alleged Rozvi raids on those areas in the 1690s, and towards the stone buildings and occupation sites of Wange and Mapungubwe, probably because of the existence of those sites and of the Nambiya tradition of origin.[255] Obviously, this map was based on very different estimates of what justified inclusion in a Rozvi 'confederacy'. Even had the raids on the Portuguese ports taken place, it is doubtful whether they would have qualified the areas involved for inclusion in a 'confederacy', and 'empire' or anything else — or practically every Shona land could have claimed to 'rule' its neighbours on that basis. A first requirement for any discussion of this topic is to decide just what constituted 'overrule' by the Rozvi.

In the first place, a number of different terms have been used by historians to try to put the Rozvi within a European frame of reference, notably 'empire' and 'confederacy'. The first term is, as we have seen, generally inadequate when one is trying to distinguish between a 'core' area and outlying areas. It does, however, come closer to the Rozvi concept of overrule than 'confederacy', which implies a league or alliance that existed on a regular basis, and a more or less equal status between its members even though one of them was its titular head or *primus inter pares*. In some ways, the Rozvi could be seen as 'first among equals', but this was not the way in which they saw themselves. The Rozvi regularly claimed superiority to the rest of the Shona in practically everything.[256] Certainly, they themselves would have preferred the term 'empire', however inaccurate it might have been. And here lies one of the problems in dealing with Rozvi claims to superiority over the Shona: their claims, taken by themselves, are no more trustworthy than similar Mutapa or Ndebele claims or those made on their behalf by the Portuguese or British. Thus, Rozvi historians could produce long lists of the subjects of the Rozvi, based either on their local knowledge, in the case of Marwodzi's list of mainly Zezuru rulers, or on more generalized knowledge; or they could name the most famous local products as tribute that was paid to the Mambo, or they could claim certain

ritual privileges, but these claims in isolation do not constitute proof.[257] To gain an accurate idea of the extent and nature of Rozvi overrule, one must look at the traditions of their alleged subjects.

Shona traditions in general recognize three basic ways in which the Rozvi played a role in Shona politics: as land-allocators, as collectors of tribute and as those who intervened in political successions. These do not necessarily apply to all groups that recognized Rozvi overrule, and in many cases there is evidence for only one or two of them ever having applied. The first function, that of *goveranyika* (land-allocator) obviously has the effect of reinforcing the claims of the dynasty whose tradition recorded it to the land in question, and might be suspected on those grounds. On the other hand, many dynastic traditions either mention no Rozvi land-allocation at all or explicitly deny it. In some cases, the land was taken by violence from the Rozvi or their existing tributaries. Traditions of payment of tribute to the Rozvi have been recorded, although a great number of them are of Rozvi origin and therefore suspect, but they are on the whole rarer and less explicit than the other main types. As for traditions of Rozvi intervention in dynastic succession, a great variety of distinction exists, and it is extremely important to recognize the circumstances in which the tradition was recorded. For example, where a tradition states that the first ruler was installed by the Rozvi, does it explicitly state that this was always the case at later successions? If it does not, does the evidence seem to suggest that *kugadza ushe* by the Rozvi was the custom? If it does suggest this implicitly or explicitly, was the tradition itself collected in a political situation where the local ruler, whether under European rule or not, owed his status at least partly to support by a Rozvi group?

As the paragraph above implies, this study attempts to break down the generalization about Rozvi overrule and discover exactly where and when the Rozvi related to the Shona, and what they did. It is also necessary to see how and why they did it. Previous studies have tended to rest on the anthropological approach of Bullock and Posselt, who assumed that when the Rozvi did something, it was because it was the 'custom'. But why should the various Shona dynasties accept land from, pay tribute to, or accept political intervention, from the Rozvi: and conversely why should the Rozvi allocate land, accept tribute, or intervene? And, if these questions are answered, how was the process carried out? Some of the answers are obvious, for they answer questions of basic human

behaviour. These questions could equally have been asked — but without any data to work on — of relations between Zimbabwe and the Torwa and the rest of the Shona, or of the relationship between the Mutapa state and its tributaries, but they are best asked of the Changamire Rozvi.

A basic factor to be borne in mind was that the Changamire state was the most powerful in southern Zambezia, but it was not supremely powerful. It could raise armies and send them over long distances on specific occasions, but it could not do this on a grand scale. Thus we find that whereas the Rozvi formally granted land to immigrant dynasties who could in theory call on the Rozvi for support against other groups, in practice most of these grants appear to have ratified conquests that had already been made, so that the Rozvi were in most cases following events rather than moulding them. Tribute was of obvious value to the Rozvi in an economic sense, while for those who paid it it had the advantage of buying off threats of Rozvi invasion or interference with trade routes. The *kugadza ushe* ceremony of installation or confirmation of rulers, which has been cited as an example of Rozvi power, involved a number of factors. For the Rozvi it involved a public declaration of support for the Changamire, expressed in various rituals, but whereas in theory the Rozvi simply ratified the choice of the people as a whole, in practice they were very often only called upon to perform the ceremony by a group within the dynasty which relied upon an outside force for support. This was particularly true the farther away the land was from the Changamire state.

The basic evidence on Rozvi overrule of the Shona is contained in Appendix V, which itself draws upon the detailed history of the Shona groups involved, which is dealt with elsewhere.[258] The main conclusions to be drawn from the evidence are as follows: there were six geographical areas to the north and east of the Changamire state that were affected by the Rozvi as land-allocators, tribute-collectors or participators in politics. (The regions to the south and west have traditions that at present are too diffuse to analyse.) These areas were those of the Umfuli valley, the *moyo* nuclear area, the eastern Shona, the *shava* nuclear area and the area of Karanga settlement both east and west of the Tokwe. Although there are obvious pitfalls in analyses that depend upon generational dating for some or all of the approximate dates offered, a definite pattern can be seen to emerge which fits the overall outline of Rozvi history surprisingly well.

The greatest period of Changamire power, not surprisingly, was in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Quite apart from the well-known wars in the Mutapa state, Maungwe, and Manyika, which are known to us from contemporary documents, the Rozvi intervened in the politics of the Mutema, Chikanga-Mutasa, Makoni, Marange, and Mbiru-Nyashanu dynasties and established boundaries in the *moyo* and *shava* nuclear areas during this time. After this, however, there was a definite decline in the *moyo* and *shava* nuclear areas and among the eastern Shona from the mid-eighteenth century onwards. An attempt to intervene in the politics of Zvimba failed, and almost all of the land settlement arrangements made by the Changamire in the *moyo* and *shava* nuclear areas were upset by dynastic movements, so that tributaries of the Rozvi were killed or expelled and boundaries ignored. The rise of the Seke, Chinamhora, Mangwende, and Chihota dynasties all flouted Rozvi arrangements, and even the death of Seke Mutema did not restore the situation in his area. In most cases the best the Rozvi could do was to recognize the new rulers, and direct evidence for Rozvi installation or tribute-collection fades after this period. The same was true in the eastern Shona area, with the last solid evidence of Rozvi power appearing in Manyika in the 1780s.

In the southern area that was settled by Karanga dynasties from the north and east, Changamire power was apparently intact until the middle of the eighteenth century. We write 'apparently', because we know practically nothing of the history of this area before that date. From that time onwards, however, there was a major movement of dynasties that wiped out or drove away practically all of the previous tributaries of the Changamire. This process was more or less complete east of the Tokwe by the beginning of the nineteenth century, and it continued west of the Tokwe well into the middle of the century. The Rozvi did little or nothing to defend their tributaries, and were content to acknowledge the conquerors just as they had done in the *moyo* nuclear area. East of the Tokwe, they succeeded in making at least three of the new dynasties — Gutu, Zimuto, and Chirimuhanzu — their tributaries, and were able to use Chirimuhanzu to defend their outlying centre of Ndarikure from Dehwe's Njanja. West of the Tokwe the same process of allocating land to the newcomers proceeded in the first half of the nineteenth century, but in this area there was no real tradition of continued Karanga subjection to the

Rozvi, largely because the Rozvi were on the verge of being engulfed by the *mfecane*. The tradition of warfare between the Rozvi and the Mhari in the upper Lundi valley seems to stress the fact that the Rozvi could not stem the flow of dynastic movement. The only area where there appears to have been more or less constant Rozvi influence during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was the Umfuli valley region, where there was virtually no dynastic immigration and which was easily accessible to the Rozvi across the thinly populated sodic-soil zone north-east of the state proper. Even here, though, the Rozvi could not help either the Neuso or the Gwenzi-Chivero dynasties against the Hiya, largely because they were hard-pressed by the Hiya themselves.

The middle of the nineteenth century brought about a permanent decline of Rozvi influence in the Karanga settlement area, for obvious reasons: this was the area and period of greatest Ndebele power. Only vestigial influence by the Washaya and Mutinhima houses survived into the twentieth century in Gutu. But in what had been the *moyo* nuclear area and in parts of the *shava* nuclear area, the mid-nineteenth century saw a revival of Rozvi power, as the upper-Sabi Rozvi intervened in the politics of Bocha, Buhera, Maungwe, Mbire III, Nyandoro, Nhowe, Harava, Chihota, Mani, and Chipata. This revival extended into the twentieth century, as the Foto Deka, Mavudzi, and Gwangwava Rozvi found it possible to make money out of intervention in the politics of Chieftainship, where the Rhodesian administration was sympathetic to *kugadza ushe* as an anthropological concept. It also affected the local traditions.

The actual extent of Changamire Rozvi power can thus be seen to have been rather less than the more exuberant maps previously produced have indicated; in any case, such maps did not allow for the fluctuation of Rozvi power over two centuries. The Urungwe plateau, the Mutapa state, the Mazoe valley, Budya, Barwe, Teve, most of the south-eastern highlands, the Duma confederacy, the south-eastern lowveld, the Mafungabusi plateau and the Nambiya area seem to have been free from Rozvi political influence for most of the existence of the Changamire state. The many cases where the Rozvi either did not support their tributaries against incoming dynasties or else did not attempt to do so show some serious limitations to Changamire power even within the limits of Changamire influence.

It will be apparent from the evidence in Appendix V and it will be made much more explicit below, that the period of

Changamire rule was anything but peaceful. The numbers of dynasties driven out, wars, murders, and political disruptions recorded in traditions are such that in some ways and in some areas the nineteenth century was actually less disturbed than the eighteenth. Perhaps a concrete example of the limitations of Changamire power can be seen in both documents and traditions involving the Hiya. The Hiya were part of a migration of *dziva*-totem dynasties from Dondo, in the south-eastern highlands, where the Musikavanhu dynasty ruled. Probably pushed by *moyo* rulers such as Mutema, probably attracted by the apparently more thinly populated lands to the west, these dynasties moved up the Nyazwidzi river to Rutanga hill, where three diverged to found the Chitaura, Nerutanga, and Nebungowa dynasties. A fourth branch, however, under Matema or Mugunde, went north as the Hiya. The Hiya fought in the upper Mazoe valley until they were driven off by an independent Rozvi-Zezuru group under Negomo. They went into the Umfuli valley, and the Gwenzi-Chivero ruler, hard-pressed, received no help from his Rozvi overlord and had to seek the ultimately unfortunate aid of Mashayamombe's Guzho. The Hiya intervened in Nemakonde politics, and then moved to the lower Umfuli to aid the Neuso dynasty against the Tonga of Ngezi, since Neuso's Rozvi overlords could not help. And finally the Hiya moved onto the eastern edge of the Changamire state, so that in 1768 they were making 'many disturbances and robberies' and the Changamire had to send four war leaders against them. This was only temporarily successful, however, and the Hiya were a menace as late as the 1790s. Perhaps it was for that reason that the Changamire was said to want a Portuguese-built fort in the 1780s. In the end, the Hiya settled at the Shona hills on the Gwelo river on the east of the state, but they had previously tested the power of the Changamire to a considerable extent.[259]

At this point, however, the inflated image of the Rozvi has been reduced to its proper size. Looking at the reliable evidence that remains, we have two related features of Rozvi overrule over the Shona that still confirm the Changamire state as the greatest state in southern Africa, in the eighteenth century, and also make comparisons with the Ndebele state valid. In the first place, the Changamire retained the ability to send armies over long distances for over a century: to the Torwa state in the 1680s, and to Zumbo and Manyika as late as the 1780s. This compares to some extent with the Ndebele achievement over half that time. Secondly, the area that was influenced by the Rozvi state over a century and a

half was, when allowances are made for the fluctuations in power normal to most such states, a very large area indeed. If this study has reduced the old image, it still shows a considerable tributary area, even if the workings of the state itself are not too clearly understood because of the nature of the evidence.

CHAPTER 8

The Resettlement of the Central and Southern Shona Country

i. The changing names of the Shona

Until the eighteenth century, the only name that was used by the Shona-speaking peoples for themselves was 'Karanga', and we only know that it was used by the northern and eastern Shona, for we have no direct evidence for the centre, south, or south-west of the Plateau. Apart from this, the Shona-speaking people had the names of their territories, rulers, and totems, each of which had a strictly local application. After the conquest of the Torwa state by the Changamire dynasty at the end of the seventeenth century, however, more terms came into use. To a great extent, they reflected the changing patterns of settlement on the plateau in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and, towards the end, the changes brought about by the onset of the *mfecane*.

The first changes in terminology were brought about by the establishment of the Changamire state in the south-west. As was pointed out earlier, the term 'Rozvi' was first recorded in the mid-eighteenth century by the Portuguese, who understood it to mean the warriors and supporters of the Changamire. It seems certain, however, that it must have been used by the Changamire's followers in the central Shona country at the time of the revolt against the Mutapa in the 1670s and 1680s, since many small groups of those followers who remained in that area were also known by that name. As was explained in the last two chapters, once the Changamire dynasty had established itself in the south-west, several groups who had lived under the Torwa attached themselves to the new regime and also became known as Rozvi. At about the same time, if the available evidence is accurate, the basic population of the south-west, descended from the people of the Leopard's Kopje culture, began to use the term 'Karanga', pronouncing it 'Kalanga'.[1]

As these changes were going on in the south-west, other names were beginning to appear in the centre and north. By the middle of the eighteenth century the Portuguese were beginning to refer to the people around the head of the Mazoe Valley as 'Zezuru'.[2] The term meant people who lived in a high area, but the area in which it was used was only high in relation to the Mazoe and other valleys. It is difficult to be certain which groups originally used the term, because it was later used by linguists to denote a complete dialect cluster, which has since led to many people calling themselves 'Zezuru' who would not have done so a century ago. Nevertheless, the original Zezuru would appear to have included the peoples living in an area nearly a hundred miles square lying north of the upper Umfuli. These groups such as the Rwizi, Chivero, Chirau, and Zvimba dynasties, were partly of 'Guruuswa' origins, and partly of more recent origins, such as the Nyamweda, Negomo, and Nyavira groups.[3] On the other hand, groups lying to the east of this square of ground such as the Svosve or Mangwende dynasties do not appear to have used the term at all before the twentieth century, and therefore in this book the term 'central Shona' will continue to be used in preference to the historically limited term 'Zezuru'.

A further change in terminology that occurred in the north was the gradual appearance of the term 'Korekore'. It has been said that the first use of this term was in an eighteenth-century document,[4] but whether this was true or not it was certainly well established by the nineteenth century. Like so many Shona terms, it had a number of meanings that were determined according to context. In general, it meant the people of the north and north-west, so that the Rufura of the Gutu dynasty in the south of the Plateau thought of their parent dynasty in the land of Satwa on the middle Mazoe as being 'Korekore', while in at least one area the division between 'Zezuru' and 'Korekore' was seen as being quite abrupt: although they both belonged to the 'Guruuswa' group of dynasties, the Chirau dynasty was thought of as being 'Zezuru' while the Nemakonde dynasty immediately to the west across the Mcheka-wa-ka-sungabeta range was called 'Korekore'.[5] Thus interpreted, the Korekore country was essentially the Urungwe plateau and the old Mutapa state area, but within this region there were finer distinctions. On the Urungwe plateau, for example, whereas both the 'Guruuswa' groups and later immigrants were known to outsiders as Korekore, the Urungwe peoples themselves reserved the title for the *nzou-samanyanga* dynasty of

Nyamapfeka Kagore, related to the Mutapa dynasty, which had been the original dominant group on the plateau after its capture from the Mbara and which continued to install rulers.[6] In the Mutapa state much the same kind of distinction was being made, with the various houses of the Mutapa dynasty such as that of Kamota Kasekete being known as 'true' Korekore, the other dynasties of the 'Guruuswa' group being known more generally as Korekore. The term 'Tavara', which had originally been used by a group in the lower Ruya-Mazoe area near the *feira* of Bokuto, was extended to cover all of the pre-Guruuswa Shona groups of the *nhari*, *nguruve*, and *shava* totems.[7] Once again, the term 'Korekore' has been borrowed by linguists to describe a dialect cluster, and used to describe the speech of people such as the Shangwe and Budya who would probably would not have called themselves Korekore in the past. Therefore, again, the term 'northern Shona' will be preferred. It should be pointed out, however, that in the Mutapa state the term 'Karanga' that had been in common use before 1700 was not forgotten, but was retained to mean the ruling dynasties associated with the state.[8]

In the east and south-east of the Plateau, no special names for the people came into use before the second half of the nineteenth century, and groups appear to have been known mainly by the names of their territories, such as 'Manyika,' Bocha', 'Sanga'. Only after the Gaza state became established in the south-eastern highlands in the middle of the nineteenth century did the term 'Ndau' come into use by the Gaza Nguni to describe the local Shona-speakers, a term later adopted by the south-eastern Shona themselves.[9] Both this term and the territorial name of Manyika were borrowed by the linguists for dialect clusters. We have already seen that the term 'Shona' itself had similar origins.[10]

Perhaps the most significant change in the application of a name occurred in the case of the term 'Karanga'. As we have seen, before 1700 it was used for the northern and eastern Shona, and we have no evidence that it was used in the south of the Plateau at that time. By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, it was in popular use throughout most of the southern part of the Plateau by people of many different groups.[11] As the latter part of this chapter will show, a major feature of the last half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries was the resettlement of the south by dynasties from the north and east, and the simplest explanation of the presence of the term 'Karanga' in the south by the nineteenth century is that it was brought in by these

groups from the areas where it had been used before. It is possible, of course, that the original population of the south had also been called 'Karanga', but so far there is no definite proof for this.

Finally, it is worth noting the appearance in the central and southern Shona country of terms that had no direct equivalent in the north or east. They were not totem names, though they did in most cases indicate descent from a common ancestor, they were not derived from the names of territories, though in a few cases territories were named after them, and they seem to have lacked the implications of status that had originally been attached to such terms as 'Rozvi' or 'Karanga'. These terms — perhaps best classified as *dzinza* or *rudzi* titles — included such names as Rufura, Govera, Mhari, or Ngowa, and their appearance is yet another clue as to the kind of change that was taking place in the lives of the Shona who began to resettle the centre and south of the Plateau.

Although the establishment of the Nguni states of the Ndebele and the Gaza in the mid-nineteenth century and especially the coming of European rule at the very end of that century have led to major changes on the Plateau, its basic population has remained Shona. In most parts of the country the pattern of Shona settlement, though greatly distorted by the events of the nineteenth century and their aftermath, remains related to the situation as it was in about 1850: there are still *shonga*-totem members of the Makoni dynasty in the east, *nzou*-totem descendants of the Mutapas in the north, *shava* Hera in the centre, Rozvi-associated groups in the north-west and Karanga-speaking Mhari, Govera, and Duma in the south. Only in the south-west and the south-eastern lowveld have the Ndebele and Tsonga wrought major linguistic changes. Yet, if one goes back to examine the origins of the different parts of this basic pattern of settlement, one finds that its foundation can be dated to very different periods, depending upon the area involved. Thus the basic pattern of the north and much of the north-west goes back to the 'Guruuswa' movements of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, in spite of the local changes brought about by the 'Mukombwean' period in the Mutapa state. In the east, the basic pattern was the result of a series of movements from the north of the Plateau from at least the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. In the south-west, the basic pattern was one of successive overlays of Leopard's Kopje-Kalanga, Khami-Torwa and Changamire groups between the tenth and seventeenth centuries. Yet, turning to the centre and south of the Plateau, one finds that the earliest surviving major groups, the central *shava* dynasties of Buhera and Bocha in the southern half of the central Plateau, can only be dated back to the seventeenth century. In the north-centre of the Plateau, the majority of the dynasties are eighteenth-century creations, while in the south the great majority date from the last half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries. In short, if we take the Shona-speaking peoples as a whole, it is only from this latter period that the political geography of the Shona took its final shape before the onset of Nguni and European rule. Thus, the modern history of the Shona can be said to have begun in the period 1750-1850.

In this chapter we will complete our survey of the outline of Shona history by looking at the way in which the centre and south of the Plateau were resettled. This process involved some sixty-odd dynasties, not counting sub-houses, and their interweaving, interlocking histories form a saga in themselves. Moreover, in the absence of documentary or archaeological evidence the internal history of each group assumes a critical importance, for it is out of the accounts of dynastic succession and civil war in each group that the genealogies were built up that provide the generational dating of events. It has already been pointed out that the technique of generational dating is a very tentative process depending to a great extent upon the volume and accuracy of the available evidence. Since this is so, and since so many dynasties are involved, it is impossible to supply all of the evidence for this complex period of Shona history in one chapter, and consequently this will be given in a separate work on the central and southern Shona entitled 'Shona Dynastic Histories'. This chapter is essentially a summary of the evidence in that book.

A further point to be borne in mind is that, because of the far-flung nature of Changamire interests, from the east to the centre, south, and south-west of the Plateau, we have already touched upon the history of many of the groups to be described from the point of view of Rozvi overrule or the spread of the Mwari cave-cult or the spread of Rozvi settlement along the southern edge of the Plateau. Here, we shall be dealing with them in more detail as part of a major process of resettlement.[12]

ii. The resettlement of the central Shona country

Even before the rise of the Changamire Rozvi in the last half of the seventeenth century, the history of the central Plateau had not

been static. Apart from the spread of the Zimbabwe culture into the area in the fifteenth century, the region had been in effect the southern frontier of the Mutapa state, and a great deal of the violence of that area had repercussions in the centre: we have already seen how the Mangwende *moyo*, Musana *gumbo*, and Chikwaka *mbano* dynasties had moved out of the state across the middle Mazoe to the lands of Matukutu and Satwa at about this time, how the flight of *shumba*-totem people from Budya to the Ruya valley and beyond may have led to the foundation of the Mbare *shumba* dynasty near the Mazoe headwaters, and how there appears to have been a short-lived territory of 'Entombwe' under a Muslim ruler in the early 1630s somewhere in this area.[13]

Nevertheless, at the time of the rise of the Changamire Rozvi there seems to have been a deliberate attempt to settle and stabilize the area. Boundary cairns were erected by the Rozvi, and the system of Rozvi boundaries reached as far south as Buhera.[14] As has already been shown, by about the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century, after the departure of the Changamire Rozvi for the south-west and the other *moyo* dynasties led by the Mutema line for the south-eastern highlands, the central Plateau area was occupied largely by small groups known either as 'Rozvi' or as *moyo*. These included the Gunguwo dynasty of Rozvi on the upper Umfuli, the *moyo* dynasty of Rusike on the upper Nyagui, Ditoti's *soko* Rozvi west of Rusike, and also the *moyo* Nyamunga and the Rozvi of Tondova west of the Nyadiri. Moreover, small groups of *moyo* or *moyo* Rozvi had accompanied or preceded the movement of the Changamire to the south-west for a small part of the journey: the *moyo* Rozvi dynasty of Gwangwava with its allied houses of Murambgha and Sango which went south to the upper Sebakwe valley, Samuriwo's *moyo* who moved from the north of the central *moyo* nuclear area to a new land on the Umfuli headwaters, Nyamweda's *moyo* who moved from the upper Mazoe to the middle Hunyani, and the *nhari*-totem Nyandoro line, which appears to have been allied to the Rozvi, and which moved as far south as the upper Umniati. To these should be added the *shava* groups of the Hunyani valley such as NeHarava, Nyavira, and Zumba, which although not Rozvi were probably included in this system of settlement symbolized by the Rozvi boundary cairns and Rozvi overrule. The history of the central Plateau area in the eighteenth century was to a great extent the history of the destruction of much of this system

by immigration from the north, east, and even the south — immigration that the Rozvi could not stop. The best that they could achieve was some kind of accommodation with the newcomers, and even so the Rozvi hold on the central Plateau area weakened during the century.[14]

The first of the movements that upset the Rozvi settlement of the central Plateau came from Bocha in the south-east, and it is possible that the *shava/mamvuramavi* Seke dynasty that led it was originally part of the ruling Marange dynasty of Bocha. Whether this was so or not, a leader named Seke Mutema brought his people into the shallow upper valley of the Hunyani and entered the territory of the *shava* dynasty of NeHarava. The NeHarava line was expelled, and the new Seke dynasty took over both the name and the territory of Harava. This seems to have occurred round about the beginning of the eighteenth century, since Seke Mutema's death date was *1719 ± 40. In fact, he died in battle with the Rozvi, who evidently objected to the defeat of their tributaries, but nevertheless Seke Mutema had lived long enough to ensure that his many descendants could not be ejected from their newly conquered land, which before long reached as far north as the Makabusi. The Seke dynasty seems to have drifted out of Rozvi control until the revival of Rozvi power on the upper Sabi in the mid-nineteenth century, and in the interval there were several wars with neighbouring groups.[15] Another early disturbance of the central country was caused by a group which, surprisingly, came from the country just south of the now abandoned site of Zimbabwe. This was the small territory of Shawasha or Mahugwi where, as we have seen, a *soko* dynasty ruled. In the first half of the eighteenth century a member of this dynasty led a party north, passing the newly settled *soko* Mbire people in Mbire III north of Mount Wedza. They moved from territory to territory, settling briefly under the ruler of each, until they found a suitable target north of the Makabusi: this was the territory of a *soko* Rozvi group under Ditoti or Murehwa. Ditoti was driven out by the Shawasha leader Derere, and henceforth the new territory, which we term North Shawasha in order to distinguish it from the old South Shawasha beyond Zimbabwe, was ruled by his *soko/murehwa* descendants under the title of Chinamhora. Ditoti's death in *1744 ± 40, also marks the end of any Changamire influence in North Shawasha, which probably extended from the Makabusi and the Mazoe-Hunyani watershed northwards into the valleys that lead towards the rock of Domboshawa.[16]

It was probably in the middle of the eighteenth century that the northern part of the central *moyo* nuclear area fell to a new immigration, though by coincidence the totem of the newcomers was the same as that of the original inhabitants, *moyo*. The Changamire had allocated the territory of Nhowe to the *moyo* Nyamunga and Tondova lines, but under the leadership of Sakubvunza the Mangwende dynasty, which had been resettled in the land of Matukutu to the west in the upper Pote valley, took advantage of the weakening Rozvi power. Leaving a branch of the line in Matukutu as the Masembura dynasty, the Mangwende group went east and took Nhowe for itself. Under this *moyo/muzukuru* dynasty, Nhowe became a large and powerful territory, dominating much of the country north of the main watershed, and only checked in that direction by the Budya on the Nyadiri and the weakening territory of Tsokoto, which was still ruled by descendants of the Mutapa Mukombwe. After Sakubvunza's death in *1764 ± 32, the Nhowe dynasty began to divide into ever more hostile houses.[17]

The name of Mbire has been cited so often in the earlier chapters of this book in connection with hypothetical events, personalities, and places in the history of the Zimbabwe, Mutapa, and Changamire states that it comes as something of an anti-climax when the Mbire upon which these hypotheses are based finally makes its appearance. After the evidence for the descent of Zimbabwe's rulers from a NeMbire dynasty, for the existence of a Mutapa Neshangwe Munembire, for the existence of an early Changamire state in the central Plateau that was actually called Mbire, or for the existence of an hereditary clan of Mbire priests in the Mwari cave-cult has been shown to be inadequate or false, very little is left. As has been repeatedly shown, the name of Mbire that appears in documents or traditions before the eighteenth century appears in every case to refer either to Mbire I or Dande or to Mbire II or Gore, both territories in the Mutapa state, neither of them particularly well known. The most famous Mbire on the Plateau was Mbire III in the central Shona country, but it appears to have been an eighteenth-century creation.

Mbire III was in effect the wide, shallow Ruzawi valley between the Masikana and Wedza ranges on the south side of the main Plateau watershed. Originally, this area does not seem to have had any special name: it was a borderland between the Rozvi of the *moyo* nuclear area to the north-west, such as Gunguwo on the upper Umfuli, the Hera of the *shava* nuclear area to the south, including some Hera around Wedza, and Maungwe to the east. In the first half of the eighteenth century, a group of people led by a *soko/vudzijena* dynasty came out of the Mutapa state, almost certainly from Mbire II, since they called themselves Mbire. Under Dendenyore, *1740 ± 36, the new territory of Mbire III was occupied, the dynastic title being Svosve. Perhaps because this was a borderland area, the occupation was achieved without conflict. A marital alliance with the Rozvi — probably those under Gunguwo — led to the Mbire acquiring the Rozvi praise name *mhondizvo*, but in spite of speculations on closer Mbire-Rozvi links this appears to have been the limit of their contact for some time, probably because the Gunguwo line was ousted by Chihota not long after: the next contact appears to have been in the 1860s. The new Mbire territory was first mentioned in *c.*1780, at about the time that Wedza was captured from the Hera. Thereafter, partly because it lay on a trade route, partly because Wedza was prominent as a landmark and as the base of the Njanja hoe industry, and partly because at least some Mbire went on to settle in the east and south, Mbire III became extremely well known, and it is almost certainly upon this recent fame that the hypotheses mentioned above were based.[18]

The conquest of the upper Umfuli Rozvi of Gunguwo that was mentioned above was the work of a branch of the Manyika. It will be remembered that one of the responses to land pressures in Manyika in the eighteenth century was emigration, and a branch of the ruling Chikanga dynasty — still, at this time, with the *tembo* totem — left Manyika and went west. Some members went as far as the Urungwe plateau and others to the Mutapa state area, but the main body, in two parties, settled on the upper Umfuli, first as subjects of the Gunguwo line and then as its supplanter. Chivazo, the leader of this *coup*, died in *1760 ± 36. Another group that appears to have arrived somewhat later, as part of a migration of *shumba*-totem Budya to the south, was that of Nenguwo, which originally took its small patch of land on the watershed between Mbire III and Nhowe as tributaries of Svosve, becoming independent later.[19]

By the second half of the eighteenth century, it seems that the central Plateau area was beginning to be filled up. Not only were there wars that involved many of the dynasties, old and new, such as Chinamhora, Seke, Samuriwo, Nenguwo, and Svosve over land, either for settlement or for hunting;[20] but the choice of environmentally unattractive areas on the crest of the watershed, such as

Nenguwo's territory of Maringari or the borderlands held by the Govha and Marondera houses of the Svosve line after their defeat in civil wars, would suggest that the best land had already been taken.[21] It is not surprising, therefore, that when the *mhara/mbuya* Guzho people came out of the north-east, from an as yet unidentified land of Dzete, they pressed right across the central *moyo* nuclear area and settled, after some shifting, on its edges. It will be remembered that one of the major disruptions of the eighteenth century was that of the Hiya, the *dziva*-totem people who moved out of a focal point in Buhera to raid as far north as the upper Mazoe valley before moving south to the frontiers of the Changamire state.[22] It was at this time that the Guzho appeared. They originally settled in Zvihota, a small land in the west of Buhera, and it was there that the Maromo section of their migration stayed, but the main force of the *mhara*-totem people went into the middle Umfuli valley, where they found the Gwenzi-Chivero dynasty fighting the Hiya. In return for settlement rights, the Guzho helped to drive the Hiya away. However, from the time of the Guzho leader, Koroka, *1792 ± 28, the Mashayamombe dynasty that he founded grew more powerful than the old Chivero group and by the mid-nineteenth century was independent and the most important unit in the Umfuli valley.[23]

By the end of the eighteenth century the political situation in the central Plateau country had reached the following stage: of the Changamire-dominated system of the late seventeenth century, very little remained. The *moyo* communities of Rusike, Nyamweda, and Samuriwo were still in existence, though they had not been very closely tied to the Changamire Rozvi, but almost none of the other subjects of the Changamire, whether 'Rozvi' or not, had survived: the incoming groups from north, east, and south had effectively redrawn the geography of the area, sweeping aside the old boundaries. Even when the Changamire, using the Nyandoro *nhari*-totem dynasty's land of Tsunga as a base, did try to maintain relations with those who had expelled his former subordinates, there was a tendency for power to begin to focus upon the Nyandoro rather than the Rozvi: by the early nineteenth century the Nyandoro rulers had taken tribute from Samuriwo, Seke, Chihota, and Nenguwo and had made at least one appointment of a ruler in the Samuriwo dynasty. Moreover, the process of upsetting the Changamire system was not yet over: the beginning of the nineteenth century saw the conquest of yet more of the older groups of the central Plateau. These were the *shumba* Mbare and

shava Zumba dynasties, which were conquered by a migration of Hera from Buhera which, as the next section shows, had similarly been experiencing disruption and change in the eighteenth century.[24]

iii. The break-up of Old Buhera

Old Buhera was that part of the central *shava* nuclear area that was originally under the *shava/museyamwa* symbolized by the Mbiru figure, which in practice meant most of the land on the south bank of the upper Sabi. We have already seen that at about the beginning of the eighteenth century there was a *coup* in which one Mbiru ruler deposed his father with Rozvi assistance, and that it was probably at about this time that the Mbiru title changed into 'Nyashanu'.[25] This, however, was only a prelude to a much more complex process that appears to have been going on throughout the eighteenth century. Essentially, this process involved a repetition in miniature of what had occurred in the north and east: political reorganization and the emigration of groups from the centre to the outer parts of Old Buhera, or even to places much farther afield. The reasons for his change are still unknown, but it seems probable that environmental factors were involved. The various *zimbabwe* of Old Buhera, which show several building styles, were located at various points between the Gombe mountain and the Marabada hills farther to the south-east. Since Old Buhera had no gold, it is probable that these were the work of a single dynasty, which moved from point to point for the same reasons that, ultimately, led to the movements from Zimbabwe and Khami: over-use of a site territory by people and their herds. In the earliest traditions on the Hera, the last Mbiru rulers are said to have moved back and forth between Gombe and Marabada several times, and in the end the Nyashanu rulers settled around the Marabada hills. According to more recent traditions, this move was made because Mbiru's sons wanted to follow the game in that direction, an explanation that could refer either to environmental pressures or to the exploitation of ivory. The result of the movement to Marabada was that a political structure emerged which has survived to today, in which a central core of wards was held by the members of one house, with outlying wards occupied by houses whose relationship to the central dynasty was more or less equivalent to the distance of their wards from the core. The old centre of Gombe was abandoned to the oncoming

Njanja. At first, at least, this process does not seem to have weakened the Hera in any way, for it was after Nyashanu Marazha's coup that he extended his boundaries, breaking the bounds previously set by the Rozvi. On the other hand, the Buhera of the mid-nineteenth century seems to have been considerably weaker than Old Buhera: in the reign of Nyashanu Matema, *1858 ± 22, the Rozvi sent an army on a destructive raid, probably in order to strengthen themselves in their wars against the Ndebele, and many Hera were killed.[26]

This weakening of Old Buhera may have been partly the result of civil wars, but it may also have been due to the tendency of many Hera to move away from the control of the Nyashanu dynasty. One such group, for example, claiming descent from the Mbiru figure moved to the west of Old Buhera, high up near the source of the Sabi and the main watershed, where they set up the Masarirambi dynasty, later renamed 'Mutekedza'. This dynasty was not particularly powerful when compared with such groups as Svosve's Mbire, to whom it lost Mount Wedza; but it so happened that it arrived in the area before certain smaller groups, such as Mudzimirema's *soko/gumene* relatives of the Mbire, the Maromo branch of the *mhara/mbuya* Guzho and others, and thus it acquired a certain primacy in West Buhera. The Masarirambi line dates from at least *1746 ± 28, and could be considerably older.[27] In a sense, the movement of a *shava/wakanonoka* group to the upper Devure valley might have been looked upon as another such movement of a Hera dynasty into the outskirts of Old Buhera, but in fact this Munyaradze group was only nominally *shava* and was really associated with the Karivara religious cult, which was a typical example of the cults of the south-eastern highlands, which will be discussed later in this chapter.[28]

A much more striking example of the movement of Hera away from the centre of Buhera occurred at the end of the eighteenth century. Small groups, which later formed the Mapanzure and Matenda dynasties, left for the south of the Plateau at about this time, but the main movement was from Buhera northwards, following the route of the Shawasha over half a century earlier. Led by three brothers of the Mbiru-Nyashanu dynasty, named Gutsa, Shayachimwe and Nyakudya, the Hera emigrants moved north to Harava in the upper Hunyani valley, and settled under the local Seke rulers. Just north of the Makabusi was the Mbare *shumba* dynasty. Encouraged by the Seke ruler, the Hera pushed over the river, ousted Mbare and set up their own dynasties of Hwata and

Chiweshe. In time, perhaps because they lacked good defensive sites in the shallow Makabusi valley, they expanded into the upper Mazoe valley, driving out the Zumba *shava* group and taking over the hills and valleys on either side of the Iron Mask range. The northern Hera formed a kind of confederacy, in that the two dynasties were separated but co-operated politically, with the Chiweshe line being regarded as senior.[29]

It should be remembered that not every group in either the *moyo* or the *shava* nuclear areas was of those totems, and it is especially interesting to note that the non-*shava* peoples of Old Buhera behaved in every much the same way as the Hera, in terms of movement and emigration. The origins of the *dziva*-totem Hiya raiders of the eighteenth century have already been located in the land of Dondo, east of the middle Sabi, and we have already seen what ultimately became of them.[30] Nevertheless, it is important to remember that for at least a short time they stopped at Rutanga hill near the centre of Old Buhera, and that it was at Rutanga that they divided into four groups. The Hiya proper went north on their destructive trail, the Ngowa joined the people from the north-east who were moving into the southern Plateau country, the NeRutanga line stayed where it was and the Chitaura section moved into West Buhera. Thus, even though it was passing through Old Buhera, this group of *dziva*-totem people was duplicating all the actions of the Hera themselves. Another set of non-Hera emigrants were the *ngara*-totem people who came from the Shava hills in central Buhera. Although a small group of these *ngara/wamambo* people stayed on under the Neshava house, more seem to have joined in the resettlement of the south, eventually forming the Zimuto and Nemavuzhe dynasties. Generational dating would put this movement as early as the first half of the eighteenth century.[31]

Throughout this book, most of the peoples involved have been Shona in origin, moving from point to point within the Shona-speaking area. Many groups claim such exotic origins as 'Sotho' or 'Swazi', but as has been suggested earlier there is, in most cases, no evidence to back this up.[32] In Old Buhera, however, there was a group, the Njanja, which had solid proof of its origins in the lower Zambezi valley, in the shape of its distinctive *mbira* instruments. Its origin in Portuguese-held territory, and also its use of the Portuguese term *senhor (sinyoro)* as a praise name, has led to suggestions that the Njanja founding ancestor Muroro was a Portuguese, but a careful examination of the earlier Njanja tradi-

tions suggests that the original Njanja were simply Africans from beyond the Shona-speaking area. In any event, before long they became completely acculturated and absorbed by the Shona around them. The really remarkable feature of the Njanja was not their origin, but rather the way in which, three generations after the arrival of the Muroro figure, *1724 ± 40, they began to expand rapidly across Old Buhera, until, in less than half a century, they had completely cut off the western Hera of Mutekedza from the Hera core to the east of Gombe. Muroro's group originally settled in Bvumbura in western Buhera, under the local *shiri*-totem Chirwa ruler. It was with the support of the local Rozvi ruler Gwangwava that the original Njanja had been allowed to settle, and it was with Rozvi support that the Njanja leader Neshangwe, *1805 ± 28, supplanted the Chirwa ruler and became the first of a new line of independent rulers named Gambiza. It seems probable that in some way the Njanja had greatly increased their numbers in Neshangwe's lifetime, for he had nine wives and many sons; of these, four wives and at least eight sons were of real importance, and the four houses and eight dynasties that they founded were the basis upon which the Njanja expanded. Moving fairly rapidly away from Bvumbura, the Njanja occupied a large tract of Hera territory, mostly in the north and east. In some cases the Hera fought back, but much of the land, including the old Hera centre of Gombe, seems to have been taken without a struggle. It was not long before the various Njanja rulers had become practically independent of the Gambiza, but his theoretical authority was recognized, and the increasingly symbolic Gambiza title was still competed for by Neshangwe's descendants. In effect this made the Njanja into another confederacy, and like the Mutapa state in its confederal phase the collective strength of the various houses was greater than that of the titular head. It is still not understood how this expansion of the Njanja took place; certainly, by 1857 they had acquired a reputation as iron-workers and it is possible that wealth from the iron trade enabled Neshangwe to increase his following, but so far all the available evidence on the iron industry associates it with the northern Njanja dynasties nearest to Mount Wedza and not with the original settlement in Bvumbura where Neshangwe lived. In other words, the Njanja iron trade seems to have followed rather than preceded the Njanja expansion.[33]

The rise of the Njanja confederacy completed the break-up of Old Buhera, which henceforth consisted of three main units: Nyashanu's Buhera, the Njanja, and Mutekedza's West Buhera. As was

admitted earlier, the reasons for this process are not fully understood, but it is interesting to note that much the same thing was going on in the other part of the central *shava* nuclear area, the smaller territory of Bocha to the east. There, the Marange *shava/mukonde* dynasty had originally been based on various hills in the northern part of the territory, which happened to be the best-watered area and the site of Bocha's little goldfield. From about the time of Marange Chirukamaswa, *1782 ± 24, however, the rulers began to spend more and more time at Makomwe, a hill to the south-west of the huge Nyaruwe mountain. In the end, Makomwe became the capital centre of the territory, and the northern sites seem to have been used as secondary bases. This movement was a little like the movement of the Nyashanu dynasty from Gombe to Marabada, and there were other similarities. For example, Bocha also sent out its emigrants — in the shape of the Seke dynasty encountered earlier — and it also experienced immigration, in the form of a Seke house that returned and took up land in the less favoured southern lowlands. Bocha also experienced civil wars, and it was as a result of one of these that Rozvi intervention reappeared in Marange politics in about the mid-nineteenth century, after about a century of absence.[34]

This completes our survey of the old central *shava* nuclear area, in which it can be seen that although some important changes occurred, old political units did survive to a far greater extent than in the *moyo* area to the north. We now look to the south of the Plateau, where it will be seen that the kind of change that had occurred in the central *moyo* area was carried out on a much grander scale.

iv. The rise of the Duma Confederacy

In the major movements of people that included the Changamire Rozvi move to the south-west, the *moyo* occupation of the south-eastern highlands, the reoccupation of the central *moyo* nuclear area, and the reoccupation of the south by the Karanga, it is noticeable that the only case of state formation was that of the Changamire state, which in any case was building upon foundations laid down by the Torwa at Khami. In all of the other area, political formations were on a rather smaller scale. Certainly, none approached the criteria for a 'state', the ability to carry out large-scale public works or to send armies over long distances to exact tribute. Indeed, most of the dynasties involved seem to have

been inferior, in terms of numbers, military strength, and area occupied, to most of the seventeenth-century territories of the north and east, such as Teve or Barwe. Even the example of confederacies noted so far, such as the Njanja and the northern Hera, are remarkable not so much for their absolute strength relative to the rest of the Plateau as for their cohesion compared with that of their immediate neighbours. One political formation stands out as an exception to this, however. This was the Duma confederacy, an extremely important grouping that eventually came to dominate most of the country of the southern Plateau between Zimbabwe and the middle Sabi. This confederacy has recently been examined by R.M.G. Mtetwa, and the following account is based upon his researches.[35]

The linked dynasties that later adopted the name of Duma were originally part of the *moyo* ruling dynasty of Teve in the eastern Shona country. At about the time of the Portuguese intervention in the eastern Shona country and their attempts to dominate Teve up to 1699, a large party under Chikosha decided to emigrate: traditions of compulsory trading enforced by the Portuguese, on the lines described by Gomes in 1648, were still recalled recently. Chikosha led his people into the central plateau country until his death in *1688 ± 44; this area was then the centre of Changamire Rozvi power, but in spite of the similarity of their totems there is no evidence that they were connected in any way. Chikosha's sons, notably Zimutswi and Rukweza, led the *moyo* groups south, accompanied by a *soko* dynasty encountered *en route*. They arrived in the west side of the middle Sabi valley, having, in effect, travelled a long way round the arid valley from Teve in order to stay within areas suitable for cultivation. There seems to be little doubt that the Duma (as they came to be called after one of their first hill-strongholds in the new land) had had a clear idea of their destination, for they had chosen one of the finest areas for settlement in the whole of the south of the Plateau. Here the mountainous Plateau edge was marked by some high peaks and a distinctly highland climate, with much better rainfall than the rest of the south. As has already been pointed out, the area of Duma settlement was like that of the rest of the south, in that although there were many small groups already in occupation that were in due course conquered, none of them seems to have been large enough either to offer serious opposition or to survive as a distinct political unit up to the present.[36]

The process of conquest of the land of Duma by the Duma people was preceded by a civil war which not only divided the Duma into two basic groups but which demonstrated the limitations of Changamire Rozvi power. On the death of Zimutswi in *1715 ± 40, his sons Mutindi and Pfupajena fought Rukweza for the supremacy. Pfupajena, who had already acquired rain-making powers, went west to the new Changamire state in the south-west of the Plateau, used his powers to win Rozvi support and returned with a Rozvi force under a war leader, Chapungu. The joint Rozvi-Duma force defeated Rukweza, and the long-term results of the war were that nearly all the houses descended from him were ejected from the centre of Duma. They went south, south-west, west, and north-west and established themselves on the edges of what became the Duma confederacy. Although much of the strength of the confederacy lay at its centre, the actual holding of Duma's boundaries by occupation thus devolved upon those who had lost the initial civil war. The limitations of Rozvi power were shown by the fact that after the brief military alliance during the war, there was no tradition of any contact between Rozvi and Duma until refugee Rozvi arrived in the area in the late nineteenth century.

The Duma confederacy that emerged in the eighteenth century was a curious mixture of political forms borrowed from the ancestral territory of Teve and the looser, more informal characteristics of the eighteenth century Karanga settlement of the south. Teve, like most of the territories of the north and east in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, had been ruled by a single ruler from a capital, surrounded by a considerable amount of political ritual and supported by a labour-tribute of work in the ruler's fields. There was no serious doubt that the Teve ruler was both greatly superior to his subrulers in rank and in full control of them. The Karanga in the rest of the south in the eighteenth century were under single rulers, but they ruled much smaller areas and had neither the elaborate ceremonial nor the labour-tribute of Teve. The Duma confederacy was unique in its scale and organization among the settlers of the south. The supreme head of the confederacy was the Mukanganwi ruler, descended from Zimutswi's eldest son Mutindi, but for a number of reasons his position was overshadowed by that of the Mazungunye rulers descended from Pfupajena; both of them, however, had very limited powers over the rest of the Duma rulers in the confederacy compared with the rule of the Mutapa and Teve rulers in the north and east in the past. The Mukanganwi ruler had only a small ward of his own, and re-

ceived only a few tusks of ivory from the various confederal rulers, whereas the Mazungunye had a large territory, the control of the capital area, the prestige based upon Pfupajena's fame as a war leader and the continuing prestige attached to the control of the Duma rain-cult. The rulers of the confederacy are said to have held general meetings at the capital four times a year, and if this is true then it would seem to indicate as much centralized control as was exerted in the Mutapa state, but the factor that made Duma a confederacy of related rulers recognizing a central group's seniority rather than a 'state' as defined in this book was the decentralization of real power among the various rulers. They normally kept all the ivory taken in their lands, instead of remitting half to the two senior rulers, they maintained their own labour-tribute fields on Teve lines but kept the produce for themselves and maintained their own fighting forces upon which the Mazungunye could call in time of war. In short, the various Duma rulers were for all practical purposes independent, far more so than the sub-rulers of the northern and eastern territories, yet a strong sense of Duma identity and the confederal links prevented them from breaking apart totally. It was noticeable that few if any of the Duma emigrated from the confederal area to set up units on their own, though this, of course, was not unrelated to the fact that they had already carved out a very large territory for themselves.

Pfupajena, upon whose military leadership so many songs are composed and whose death date was *1746 ± 36, was the main force behind the conquest of Duma, which eventually extended from the middle Sabi in the east to beyond the Mtilikwe in the west, and from the Devure in the north to the lowveld fringes in the south. This was a huge area, and it seems possible that Pfupajena was taking advantage of the fact that the majority of the Karanga who were to resettle the south had not yet arrived from the north and east in order to stake out as large a claim as possible. Certainly, in the north-west of the confederacy the Chasura *shiri* people of the Devure headwater area were briefly under the Duma before their conquest by Mabwazhe, *1757 ± 36, the founder of the *gumbo* Gutu dynasty, and there was a short-lived Duma dynasty under Gochedza in that general area. This would seem to suggest that the power of the Duma, although quite adequate to subdue the small groups of the original inhabitants of the south, and to mark out their areas for future settlement by the Duma proper, was not sufficient to hold a perimeter as large as had been originally envisaged. The rise of Gutu saw a slight contraction of

Duma territory, and so did the onset of the Tsonga-speaking Hlengwe across the south-eastern lowveld. Nevertheless, although the Duma rarely if ever intervened in dynastic politics outside the boundaries of the confederacy, there was no doubt that the Duma were the most powerful of the southern dynasties in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was noticeable that very few of the rest of the Karanga from the north and east tried to enter Duma to settle and that those that did — the *soko* Nyakunuhwa and *gumbo* Ndanga dynasties — were absorbed into the confederal structure. Most of the earlier Karanga settlers in the south, as will be seen, chose to move down the narrrow corridor between Duma and the eastern borders of the Changamire state, until that polity began to weaken and to make further settlement to the west possible. Another indication of the power of the Duma was the alliance symbolized by the marriage of Pfupajena to Mhepo of the Musikavanhu *dziva* dynasty just east of the middle Sabi. This marriage brought increased religious power from Musikavanhu to Pfupajena's cult, but it is highly probable that the other side of this alliance was the backing of Duma military power for Musikavanhu's struggle to stay independent in the face of the growing power of the south-eastern highland *moyo* dynasties led by Mutema of Sanga.

v. The Karanga and the resettlement of the south

As has already been shown, the process of movement by Shona dynasties across the face of the Plateau was a relatively slow one: this was as true for the south of the Plateau as it was for the other areas. Seen as a movement of people, the migration of the Rozvi of the Changamire from the centre to the south-west must have been begun by about the 1680s, although it may have taken several decades before the last Rozvi groups reached the newly conquered state, and indeed, the generational dates of some of these Rozvi groups suggest exactly that. Having settled in the south-west, however, the Changamire Rozvi had little more than a half-century of peace before the first of the peoples from the north and east began to push into the lands between their Rozvi state and the newly established Duma confederacy. By the middle of the eighteenth century these new settlers, descended like the Rozvi from the 'Karanga' of the seventeenth century and still calling themselves by that name, had reached the lands north of the Duma; by the end of the century, they had taken most of the

lands east of the Tokwe, and some of them had crossed the lower part of that river to establish a spur of their settlements that pointed south, between the Rozvi and the Duma, to the edges of the lowveld; finally, in the first half of the nineteenth century, they began to press west of the Tokwe into what had been the eastern borderlands of the Changamire state, a process that went on until the rise of the Ndebele state on the remains of the earlier body prevented its going any farther. This whole process, of course, can only be dated by generational dating, but the overall pattern, given the natural limitations of such a methods of determining dates, is remarkably consistent.

Another indication of the gradual nature of the resettlement of the south was the way in which small groups which set out from their lands in the north and east were ejected from their new territories, or conquered and absorbed, by larger groups from the same general direction. It was rather as though small scouting parties of Karanga settlers, having proven the possibility of settlement in the south, were exploited by larger groups that benefited from their experience. It is also an indication of the apparently small scale of the post-Zimbabwe, pre-Karanga settlements of the south that so many small Karanga groups were able to become established at all. However, before describing the progress of the various Karanga groups that entered the area, it is worth looking at the fate of the pre-Karanga and the extent of Rozvi settlement in the south.

Although the communities of pre-Karanga had many different totems, with *soko* and *shumba* being especially prominent, nearly all of them had one thing in common: they failed to survive as independent political units in the face of the oncoming Karanga. Indeed, very few of them appear to have survived even as family units, their names and totems being only a memory, preserved by their conquerors. Nevertheless, a very few did survive, but the small scale of most of these survivals is a strong indication that the south had not contained any large polities in the centuries after the fall of Zimbabwe and the coming of the Karanga. Even those that did survive were forced to move a certain distance by the newcomers. The most important of these surviving pre-Karanga were the *dziva* Romwe who had originally lived at Romwe hill on the lower Mtilikwe; under the Chingoma dynasty, the Romwe had developed a rain cult, and at a time when they were threatened by incoming Rembetu from the lowveld they moved, possibly at the invitation of the Changamire, to a small territory south-east of Belingwe peak near the Nuanetsi, where

they remained. This seems to have taken place in the early nineteenth century, and it may reflect the need of the Changamire Rozvi for grateful (and valuable, because they brought their rain-cult with them) subrulers at a time when the Karanga were beginning to cross the Tokwe.[36] The Chingoma dynasty has survived up to modern times, but the only other pre-Karanga dynasty in the south to do so was much less important. This was a branch of Chinamhora's Northern Shawasha which lost a civil war in the north and set out, under Vambe *1775 ± 36, to found a new territory in the south. Old South Shawasha from which Chinamhora had come had probably already been conquered by Pfupajena's Duma, so Vambe's descendants founded a new, rather small settlement on the Shashe, which eventually became the *soko/mutadza* Hama dynasty. Three small pre-Karanga groups were conquered in the process.[37] Of the rest of the pre-Karanga, Chinaka's Pako held out in the rugged Munaka range between the middle Lundi and Tokwe rivers until their conquest by the Mhari in the mid-nineteenth century, and a few *moyo* Mhazhe people, who had lived just north of the Pako until they were ejected by the Ngowa and who then lost their second home across the Lundi to yet more Ngowa, lived on into the twentieth century as simple family groups.[38] All the rest of the pre-Karanga appear to have lost their independence very much earlier and did not even keep distinct wards of their own among the newcomers.

We have already seen that there were a number of outlying Rozvi communities living among the pre-Karanga along the eastern borders of the state, whether or not these were true 'Rozvi' from the north-east or ex-Torwa people who had borrowed the name. Many of these suffered the same fate as the pre-Karanga and lost their lands to the Karanga settlers, but the traditions of those that survived remind us how the Changamire state was in one sense simply the product of the process of reoccupation of the southern half of the Plateau by the peoples of the northern half. If the Changamire dynasty itself had taken the first prize, the rich Torwa state weakened by civil war, and the Duma the second, the well-watered Bikita highlands along the Plateau's edge, then the eight Rozvi dynasties that eventually survived the Karanga resettlement had taken the third, in the form of the remaining part of the Plateau edge between the first two. This was a prime environment for settlement, much like that around Zimbabwe, and in addition it was a kind of refuge area for groups which had been unsuccessful in the Changamire state to the west. The Nebgwine

shava-mara Rozvi fled to the mountains near the lower Tokwe in the early nineteenth century for this last reason, as did Mtubayedzi's *moyo/mhondizvo* Rozvi some years later during the time of the Ndebele invasion. The Negove, Nyamhondo and Negari *moyo* Rozvi, the *chuma* Rozvi of Chizungu and Murove, and Bankwe's *shumba* Kalanga had nearly all taken similar territories in the area around 1800, although Negove seems to have settled as early as the beginning of the preceding century, well ahead of the rest. In effect these dynasties, together with other groups that were less fortunate, had once formed a solid block of 'Rozvi' settlement along the mountains of the Plateau edge that extended east of the Changamire state proper. By the mid-nineteenth century this line had been breached in three places by fresh movements of people, two from the north and one from the south.[39]

The actual numbers of Karanga who took part in each individual movement into the south probably varied considerably. Such groups as the Mhari or Duma were relatively large. Others were probably no bigger than family units, and will only become known to us when really detailed research is done in each area. Certainly, even at the height of the Karanga resettlement there were small groups that came out of the north or east as small independent units: the *ngonya* Serima dynasty that moved from Zvimba to the upper Devure area in the early nineteenth century or the *shonga* Wozhere group from Maungwe that settled a little to the north-west of Serima some years later were good examples of this sort. So, especially, were the small groups that seem to have spearheaded the resettlements in the first half of the eighteenth century: the south-eastern highland area added its quota, Nesongano *shumba* who went from Mutambara to the upper Devure, Gurajena's *dziva* who went from Musikavanhu to the Pokoteke valley, and Rubango-Gororo and Madzivire who went to the lower Tokwe to live under an outlying Duma ruler. Another such dynasty was that of Nemarundwe *zhou* from the Urungwe area, which settled near Gurajena. These small groups were able to drive away or conquer the even small pre-Karanga peoples in each area, but most of them in turn fell victims to much bigger Karanga settlement groups that began to move into the south.[40]

One of the most powerful of these was also one of the first to travel south. In the first half of the eighteenth century a section of the Musana *gumbo* dynasty of Satwa in the middle Mazoe valley went south to Buhera, led by Mabwazhe, *1757 ± 36. On the

upper Devure, which was then the southern frontier of Old Buhera, the political situation was complex even for that period of the history of the south; in the middle area there were various *shava* Hera, Chasura's *shiri* people, recently weakened by a civil war, and the newly arrived Nesongano *shumba* group. This area in turn lay between the powers of the Duma to the south, of Buhera to the north-east and of the Rozvi to the west. To cut short a complex story that has often been depicted in mythical terms, the *gumbo* people, now calling themselves Rufura, conquered all the local groups and established the new Gutu dynasty descended from Mabwazhe. This was done, in the first instance, with the backing of Buhera, while the Rozvi made no attempt to save their tributaries, the *shiri* people, but simply recognized Gutu as the new local dynasty. From then on the Gutu rulers paid tribute to the Changamire, but with the weakening and fall of the Changamire state in the nineteenth century Gutu came to rule all of the area between the Duma confederacy and Buhera, including the Munyaradze *shava* group mentioned earlier. By *c.*1850 Gutu was one of the best-known Karanga dynasties.[41]

The greatest single movement of *dziva* peoples out of Musikavanhu's land was that which gave rise to the destructive Hiya migrations of the 1760s, already mentioned in connection with the Rozvi. Spectacular as their raids were at the time, the Hiya eventually faded into obscurity, and it was another branch of this movement that achieved more lasting results. Going south from Rutanga hill in Old Buhera, a party of *dziva* people who adopted the name of Ngowa crossed the middle Tokwe and drove out the Mazhe subordinates of the Rozvi. Their new territory was named Bungowa and their rulers Nebungowa, and although there may well have been earlier Nebungowa rulers living a little earlier, we move onto surer ground with the reign of Nebungowa Kuvirimara, *1816 ± 28. Kuvirimara's *dziva* family and their associates were numerous, and before long they were beginning to push farther west over the middle Lundi into what had been Rozvi territory. Nevertheless, the growing power of the Ngowa was checked by a war with some of the *shiri* refugees from Chasura's territory who were fleeing from the power of the *gumbo* Rufura. The final end of the Nebungowa dynasty was brought about by the rapidly expanding Mhari in collusion with the Changamire, probably in the 1850s, and by the 1860s only a small section of the *dziva* dynasty remained east of the Lundi as subjects of the Mhari. On the other hand, the Ngowa refugees who fled from this disaster

helped to strengthen the *dziva* settlements west of the river, and before long a New Bungowa had been founded under the Mazvihwa dynasty, with yet more branches of the lineage pushing even farther to the west in the mid-century period.[42]

Turning back to Chasura's *shiri* dynasty, we have already seen how it was fragmented by a civil war and the conquests of Gutu Mabwazhe. The result of this was that the *shiri* dynasty split up into small family groups and scattered across the countryside to the south-west. These family groups belonged to two main houses, Sakunara and Chasura, and when in due course two new *shiri* dynasties were established west of the Lundi it turned out that the rulers came from different houses, but with subrulers of the other house under each. Thus, the leader of the Sakunara house went to the upper Lundi valley, accepted the land offered by the Mutinhima house of the Rozvi and in due course founded the Ndanga *shiri* dynasty, the *shiri* people by this time calling themselves Bonda. Ndanga also ruled over a section of the Chasura house under a sub-dynasty named Mpakame. All of these Bonda people came under Ndebele rule in the 1850s. Meanwhile, on the middle Lundi, successive parties of Chasura and Sakunara-house *shiri* refugees had passed through Bungowa earlier in the century, with more or less harmful effects upon the Nebungowa dynasty, and settled in separate groups in the hills west of the river. It was not until the wars between the Ndebele and the Rozvi in the 1840s and 1850s that one of these groups, of the Chasura house, succeeded in linking up with the Ndebele and becoming the official tributary leader of all the *shiri* peoples of the middle Lundi valley. Thus the Masunda dynasty of Bushiri reversed the pattern established by the Ndanga rulers upriver.[43]

If the Duma presented the prime example of a Shona confederacy in the eighteenth century, the Mhari give us an example of a would-be confederacy that never quite achieved the cohesion required. The Mhari were a large group of *shumba*-totem people from Budya who started on their journey to the south in the second half of the eighteenth century, leaving the Nenguwo group to settle just north of Mbire III on the way. They arrived at a point west of Zimbabwe where the Shashe and Tokwe join up and make a loop around Mungudza hill, and it was in this wild area, in which only a couple of small pre-Karanga groups lived, that the Chivi dynasty was founded. Within a very short time the numbers of the Mhari seem to have expanded to a point where the new territory could no longer contain them. A civil war seems to

have taken place, and the result was a large-scale movement of Mhari dynasties up the Tokwe valley towards the source. The Rozvi had made no attempt to support their tributary ruler in the Mungudza area, and when Nhema's Mhari reached the upper Tokwe area in the first reaction of the Rozvi was to co-operate with them against their own subordinate, a *shumba-tembo* Rozvi named Boroma. Nevertheless, the arrival of so many Mhari under Nhema and Banka represented too serious a threat, and the result was a Rozvi-Mhari war in which the Changamire Rupandamanga died when his own men betrayed him. The establishment of the northern Mhari, then, was spectacular. Meanwhile, after the Mhari civil war in the Mungudza area, the Chivi title had been inherited by Tavengerweyi, a Mhari leader who had settled south of the middle Tokwe under the Nebungowa *dziva* dynasty. Growing rapidly in numbers, the Mhari became the rulers of the area when the Changamire Tohwechipi, in flight from the Ndebele, had the Nebungowa leader murdered and his lands handed over to the Chivi dynasty. Needing still more land, the many sons of Tavengerweyi drove nearly all the surviving Ngowa out of the territory, and by mid-century they were pushing down the Tokwe and Lundi towards the south-east.

Had the Mhari been able to achieve any kind of real unity, they might have become a real power, rivalling the Duma. As it was, their strength was clustered too heavily around the southern dynasty of Chivi and the northern dynasty of Nhema, and in between them were only the minor Mhari sections of Madamombe, Rera, and Bere. The Chivi title was recognized by the Nhema line as being senior, and some important Mhari *mhondoro* spirits were centred in the Chivi area; but this meant very little in terms of practical politics and even less after *c.*1850 when the northern Mhari came under the Ndebele while the southern Mhari generally resisted them. Thus the Mhari are best seen as an incipient confederacy that expanded too fast and too far to hold together.[44]

By what appears to be a pure coincidence, two major settlements of Karanga people in the south were made by groups who called themselves 'Govera' but who were quite unrelated. The first group were of the *ngara* totem, and came from the Shava hills in Old Buhera. They seem to have gone south in the first half of the eighteenth century, and whereas the Zimuto section stopped in the Mshagashi valley north of Zimbabwe the Nemavuzhe group went on and settled in the mountains of the Plateau edge south of the Tokwe. In both cases, although the *ngara*-Govera never became

very powerful they were able to defeat the pre-Karanga and small, early-established Karanga settlers in their new territories.[45] If the *ngara*-Govera called themselves Govera because they claimed to have allocated land to others, the Manyika-Govera chose the name for themselves because they were descended from one of the Chikanga rulers of that name who had ruled in Manyika in the eighteenth century. As we saw in an earlier chapter, by the mid-eighteenth century Manyika was becoming overcrowded, and after each civil war for the Chikanga title the losers were beginning to move north onto the Inyanga plateau. One such group with the *tembo-shumba* totem of the ruling Chikanga dynasty went north long enough to pick up the local Nyanga dialect and then swung south-west, until it reached the Changamire state. Unlike the bulk of the incoming Karanga, the Manyika-Govera were fairly closely aligned with the Rozvi from the start, and they were allocated land near the Rozvi settlement at Ndarikure on the Shashe. Ndarikure seems to have been threatened by an outlying group of Njanja who were themselves aligned with Banka's Mhari. In the end the new Chirimuhanzu dynasty of Manyika-Govera founded by Mhepo, *1788 ± 24, became a considerable local power, and it was allied to the Rozvi until its leader surrendered to the Ndebele in 1857.[56]

The interlocking histories of the Rufura, Ngowa, Bonda, Mhari, and Govera give us the core of the history of the Karanga resettlement of the south, but of course there were many other groups involved. Rather than describe the history of each in turn, we will look at the way in which they completed the process of Karanga immigration from the north and east. In origin, many of them were from Old Buhera, notably the *shava* Mapanzure, Matenda, and Chiwundura dynasties; there was a Rufura offshoot under the Mahlebadza dynasty, which was a branch of the Ndanga *gumbo* dynasty that had settled inside the Duma confederacy after breaking away from the main Rufura settlement under Gutu; and there were a number of dynasties that were originally of the *soko* totem and which were frequently and sometimes accurately known as Mbire and linked with Svosve of Mbire III. These latter included Neshuro, Mudavanhu, Mapiravana, and Mazivisa *soko*, and Charumbira and Nyakunuhwa *shumba*. As far as settlement patterns were concerned, many of these dynasties were simply filling in the gaps left between the larger and more important groupings — and this is not entirely a figure of speech, for in many cases the generational dates of these dynasties are much later than those of the major groups, and so imply that they were taking up those

parts of the south that had not yet been reoccupied. In three areas, however, they pressed the Karanga resettlement to its limits. It has already been pointed out that some of the earliest settlements by the Karanga followed the 'corridor' between the Changamire state and the Duma confederacy. The generational date for the Nemavuzhe dynasty south of the Tokwe, *1764 ± 32, formed part of this pattern, as did the dates for the outlying Rozvi communities of Negove and Negari, *1730 ± 40 and *1799 ± 32. With the settlement of Neshuro's Mbire south of the Lundi by *1778 ± 36, this pattern was completed, and the effect was that of a 'spike' of early settlement by northerners that reached round the western borders of the Duma confederacy to the lowveld. This 'spike' also cut off the Rozvi dynasties of Nebgwine and Murove from the Rozvi settlements farther to the west. A similar 'spike' of northern settlement was that created by the *soko* dynasties of Mapiravana (*1835 ± 36) and Mudavanhu (*1868 ± 20) and the *gumbo* Mahlebadza group to the west. Their settlements reached south across the Nuanetsi river to the west of Belingwe peak, effectively dividing the line of Rozvi settlements. Mahlebadza's settlement represented the extreme south-western limit of the Karanga advance. The third advance made by these miscellaneous groups was in the Kwekwe valley, where Chiwundura *shava* and Gambiza *dziva* moved into the uninviting sodic-soil zone in the nineteenth century.[47]

Before discussing the implications of this complicated and far-reaching series of dynastic movements of the Karanga, it should be remembered that the whole pattern of small pre-Karanga groups being swamped by immigrants fleeing from overcrowding and warfare and seeking new land was being repeated in the south-eastern lowveld at exactly the same time that the Karanga were carrying out their resettlement, but by groups from the south. In the eighteenth century the various movements among the Tsonga-speaking peoples began to affect the south-eastern Shona, and by the end of the century the Hlengwe section of the Tsonga had reached the lower Sabi valley, while other Hlengwe had begun to conquer the south-eastern lowveld from the small Shona-speaking groups that lived there. In the end, the Hlengwe under such rulers as Chitanga, Mpapa, Dumbo, Vurumela, Sengwe, Tsovani, and Mahenye had taken most of the lowveld and advanced far up the Chiredzi, lower Lundi, and lower Nuanetsi valleys. In this case, the Shona-speaking groups were assimilated, and Tsonga became the dominant language of the lowveld.[48] A smaller-scale movement involved peoples who left the Sotho-, Venda-, and Kalanga-speaking

areas south of the Limpopo and settled north of the river. The civil wars of the Venda that were mentioned in the last chapter were quite sufficient incentive for such groups to move, while the southern Plateau area and the outlying mountain ranges rising out of the lowveld were as attractive to people of the south as to those from the north. Some of the Venda-speakers and Sotho-speakers simply travelled up the Umzingwani valley and settled, some retaining their language.[49] Others went farther to the north, and became Shona-speakers.

The most important of these immigrant groups from the south came from the Mbedzi section of the eastern Zoutpansberg, and brought with it a rain-cult derived from the Raluvhimba cult of that area. Led by Mafukanoro, the *mbedzi*-totem people crossed the Limpopo and reached the great mountain of Marungudzi which rose out of the lowveld. This island of fertility was occupied by a Shona-speaking people known as the Pfumbi, led by the Chikada *nzou* dynasty. Chikada was defeated and the mountain and its inhabitants were taken. From then on the *mbedzi* dynasty founded by Mafukanoro, *1833 ± 28, eventually known as the Matibi dynasty after one of its more famous rulers, was known as the Pfumbi, after the original inhabitants of the mountain. Under Mafukanoro's son, Muchira, the Pfumbi struck out across the lowveld drylands and 'conquered' a huge tract of land that reached across the Bubye to the Nuanetsi. Under lowveld conditions, of course, much of this 'conquest' was meaningless since so much of the land was more or less useless to agriculturalists, and in practice the power of the Pfumbi depended upon the number of hills that could be taken; in fact, the lines of advance of the Pfumbi and Vurumela's Hlengwe intersected, but, perhaps because the Hlengwe were less oriented towards agriculture, no clash developed until after 1850. Nevertheless, the strongholds of the Pfumbi included several outliers of the southern Plateau edge, and thus in time the Pfumbi came to be included with the Karanga of the south in spite of their southern origins.[50]

A second such movement was of limited importance: some of the Twamamba people of the Zoutpansberg-Brak valley area fled north of the Limpopo and, in due course, founded the Chitawudze dynasty on the Tshabezi stream in the lowveld between the Umzingwani and Bubye rivers. This was at some time in the first half of the nineteenth century.[51] Finally, a group of Lemba from the Zoutpansberg had come to the area south of Belingwe peak not long before the fall of the Changamire state. Although the

mfecane caused the ruling Mposi *nzou* dynasty to flee back to Venda for a while, enough Lemba remained to establish the claim of the Lemba to the Belingwe peak area as a whole. This settlement, taken in conjunction with Chingoma's Romwe just to the east and with the Pfumbi and Twamamba in the south represented a third 'spike' of settlement that breached the line of Rozvi settlement along the southern Plateau edge. It also completes our outline of the resettlement of the south by the Karanga and others.[52]

At several earlier points in this book, the reader has been asked to take note of some extremely detailed outlines of Shona settlements, notably those of the 'Guruuswa' period in Chapter 2, those of the pre-Karanga in the south in Chapter 6, and the political changes noted in the earlier sections of this chapter dealing with the central Plateau area and Old Buhera. Having just been confronted with the extremely complex series of movements described in this latter section, the reader may possibly have missed a salient feature that must be stressed: in an area measuring about 190 miles by 160, that is the land between Buhera and the Limpopo and between the Sabi and the frontiers of the Changamire and Ndebele states, not one group claiming to have originated in the area was able to survive as a political unit on its original territory. Indeed, very few survived at all, and the resettlement from the north, east, and south was almost complete. In the context of Shona history this was quite remarkable, for in most of the centre, north, and east the incidence of survivals of political groups was significantly greater, especially when it is realized that the whole south shows a pattern of generational dating that is on the whole considerably more recent than that of the rest of the Shona country.

vi. The new frontier: aspects of Shona society in the centre and south before 1850

Each of the previous chapters of this book has dealt with an aspect of Shona history that has been previously written about both for the general and the academic public: the coming of the two Iron Ages, Zimbabwe, the Mutapa, Torwa, and Changamire states, and the eastern Shona can all be found in various publications, and if the accounts of these given in this book differ partly or considerably from the previously understood versions it is at least possible for the reader to see where the differences lie. But, as

far as I know, there is so far no political history of the central and southern Shona before *c.*1850 that attempts, as this chapter does, to trace the general course of events, although there are of course a host of local studies from R.M.G. Mtetwa's major work on the Duma downwards. Yet in the general works on the Shona that have so far appeared there are some major assumptions about the nature of central or southern Shona history that have, in many cases, been disproved by this chapter. Before discussing the features of central and southern Shona history that are of real importance, it might be as well for us to see just how far the picture given above differs from the previously held assumptions.[53]

To begin with, the frequently held assumption that the Changamire state dominated the central and southern Shona from the late seventeenth century to the mid-nineteenth century as part of a regularly administered 'empire' has already been shown, in the previous chapter, to be based upon inadequate evidence. The picture of Rozvi influence over the region shows a weakened hold in the centre after *c.*1750 and progressive weakness in the south for a century after that date. In case after case the Rozvi made no attempt whatever to protect their tributaries from attack or eviction by newcomers, and often they connived with the newcomers against them. It is still difficult to assess the attitude of the Changamire rulers towards the oncoming Karanga in the south: were they thinking of themselves as south-westerners, heirs to the tradition of the Torwa state, or did they look upon the Karanga as being essentially fellow-north-easterners and thus to be welcomed?

A much more important point concerns the level of violence in ordinary life among the central and southern Shona, and the corresponding effect of the *mfecane*. Most of the earlier works tend to treat the eighteenth century as a 'time of comfortable and slow peace', or at least a time in which wars were conventionalized, semi-ritual affairs in which few were killed. On the *mfecane*, some accounts have tended to assume that the Ngoni and their Ndebele and Gaza successors wrought such havoc that large areas were abandoned by the Shona, and that a tradition of 'refuge' settlements on hilltops and of making crude 'Refuge' pottery came into existence as a response to this. Both of these ideas require very serious modification. We have already seen the example of the *dziva*-totem Hiya and their violent progress across the Plateau from south to centre and back as a corrective to ideas of exaggerated Changamire power, but, as this chapter has shown, the Hiya

were not alone in their violence. The numbers of wars that led to whole dynasties being evicted from their territories in the centre and south are legion, and it is highly unlikely that any group willingly surrendered its valuable land purely as a result of a ritual contest. The scattering of the *shiri* people of Chasura before Gutu's Rufura, the conquests of Pfupajena and the massacre of the Ngowa by the Mhari all tend to suggest that warfare was not only common but violent in its nature, as most wars are. In a succession of wars between the Seke and Samuriwo dynasties, for example, two Seke rulers and one Samuriwo ruler were murdered in a few years. The conquest of Mbare's territory and the upper Mazoe valley by the northern Hera was also considered to be notably violent. On the other hand, the impact of the *mfecane* seems to have been limited, as one would expect when it is realized that the Ngoni passed through in less that a decade and never even visited some areas. We have already seen how briefly they afflicted the Mutapa state and the eastern Shona, and how on the whole their passage was far less cataclysmic than has been suggested in the past. In the central and southern Shona country the picture was much the same: Neshuro *soko*. for example, lost only two women to the Ngoni, although his people's fields were destroyed. In the central Shona country, the Mbire of Svosve used the rival Zwangendaba and Maseko Ngoni in order to fight out their own civil wars.[54] Perhaps the biggest single factor that argues against an interpretation of the *mfecane* period as being one of unparalleled destruction is the evidence of dynastic settlement in the south. During the period of the *mfecane* and the early Ndebele raiding, the slow, steady spread of Karanga dynasties southwards and westwards proceeded unchecked throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, and if one were to reconstruct the history of the south from traditions alone then it would be admitted that the *mfecane* was a violent period, but the idea that it led to a 'Refuge' culture could not be supported: instead, the picture would be one of steady demographic expansion.

The main significance of this final chapter, however, does not lie in its modifications of older ideas. Rather, it provides the climax to the overall theme of the book, namely the story of the relationship between the Shona and their land, and the way in which they sought throughout their history to apply the five revolutionary techniques of the African Iron Age — the making of iron tools, the growing of crops, the making of pots for cooking and of huts for shelter, and the keeping of livestock — to the best

territory available. We have seen how the original expansion of the Early Iron Age led to the ancestors of the Shona entering southern Africa in the first few centuries of this era, and we have seen the arrival of the first Shona on the Plateau itself on their journey from the south. The links between political power, the increase of cattle herds and the need for grazing have been constantly stressed, and the expansion of the Zimbabwe culture has been seen very much in these terms. In the cases of the 'Guruuswa' movements of the north and north-west from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries and of the movements from the Mutapa state area towards the south-east, these kinds of economic pressure have been associated with the emergence of many famous dynasties in the north and east. Furthermore, it has been suggested that the specific pressures caused by the Portuguese conquest of the north and east in the seventeenth century and the much more general pressures of an increase in the numbers of people and beasts led to local responses such as the colonization of the Inyanga plateau and to the long-term solution of emigration to the centre and south of the Plateau. The reverse side of this picture is the weakness of the centre and south that made such movements possible. It has been suggested that the civil wars of the Torwa state and the Portuguese intervention helped to make the Changamire conquest of the south-west possible, and it has been implied that the departure of the Changamire Rozvi from the central Plateau area in turn allowed new groups to move into the region. Finally, although the evidence is not yet strong enough for us to state definitely that the south of the Plateau — the area of the old Zimbabwe state — was thinly populated two centuries after its fall, the weakness and almost total extinction of the pre-Karanga dynasties suggests very strongly that this was the case.

In short, the history of the Shona-speaking peoples since before their arrival on the Plateau has been one of movement from relatively heavily populated areas to less crowded regions, of concentrations of wealth in certain areas leading to increases in the numbers of the people and to consequent movements outwards from the centre to the periphery, whether motivated by a desire to exploit new lands or to escape conflicts at home whose cause may have lain essentially in competition for territory. The propulsion created by wealth and numbers was equalled by the attraction of new territory. Thus, the original Bantu-speakers accumulated sufficient economic strength from their five associated techniques to expand far and fast into the territories of the hunter-gatherers of

southern Africa. Much later, the ancestral Shona south of the Limpopo appear to have so built up their cattle herds that a resettlement north of the river became a logical and necessary response. The accumulation of people and their herds around the state centre of Zimbabwe similarly created the environmental pressures that led to both the fall of the state and to the expansion of the Zimbabwe culture, brought by cattle-owning dynasties to the west, north, and east. In the cases of the Mutapa state and the territories of the north and east, it is not so easy to see the accumulation of wealth as the driving force behind the migration from the north and east back to the centre and south in more recent centuries, for this was a period of declining trade and overall wealth. On the other hand, the combination of general population increase, civil wars, and Portuguese incursions linked to the relatively empty lands awaiting in the centre and south supplies a convincing alternative reason, particularly when it is realized that the long-established territories of Old Buhera and Bocha gave rise to similar migrations on a smaller scale.

If, therefore, the resettlement of the centre and south of the Plateau is termed a 'new frontier' situation — an emotive term being deliberately used to suggest something of the atmosphere of the times — then it must be understood that, in one sense, this was not a new situation at all as far as the Shona were concerned, but simply a repetition of a situation that had occurred often in the past. Indeed, it is upon traditions of Shona migrations of this period that the theory of migration during the Early Iron Age was based. (On the other hand, as will be shown, there were new elements in the 'new frontier' of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.) Thus the picture given in traditions, of the building tension in the home territory, of the decision to leave (either deliberately taken or compelled after a clash with another group), the migration in short stages with halts for years along the way, and finally the arrival in and conquest of another territory, is almost certainly a reflection of many episodes in the Shona past.

At present, we have no accurate information on the actual population of the Plateau at any time before the twentieth century, and the very way in which Shona genealogies are constructed in the male line, from one male ancestor, tends to give an exaggerated picture of rapid expansion of numbers in only a few generations. Nevertheless, there seems to be good reason for supposing that the south of the Plateau, and perhaps the centre also, did experience a significant increase in population during the eigh-

teenth and nineteenth centuries. The remarkable expansion in both numbers and territory of such peoples as the Njanja, Duma, or Mhari is a strong hint in this direction. So, too, are such factors as the economy and religion. If the population of the south had remained more or less stable during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, one would have expected the number of acres under cultivation to have remained more or less the same, and the iron industry that supplied the vital hoes and axes to have remained more or less stable also. Yet this was not the case with the hoe industry. Firstly, in spite of the presence of a number of small iron fields in the south, such as Mahugwi in South Shawasha and Nyuni in Duma, there is evidence that in the early years of the Duma confederacy iron tools were so scarce that wooden hoes were used extensively, and were still in use until the early twentieth century. Indeed, the Nyuni mine was not discovered until after the foundation of the confederacy.[55] This apparent decline in technology from the state reached by fifteenth-century Zimbabwe or seventeenth-century Teve can only be explained in terms of a large immigration of people, who were strangers to the country and thus ignorant of its resources and who were in such numbers that the existing local mines could not keep them supplied. The way in which the iron industry of the Njanja expanded is also a clue leading in the same direction. Although Wedza mountain was one of the richest iron-ore strikes in the country, there is no evidence that it was of any real importance until the Njanja began to use it for their iron industry. Although Wedza was captured by the Mbire from the Hera in the second half of the eighteenth century, it was the Njanja, especially the northern Njanja, who exploited the mines to the greatest extent. They built up a considerable manufacturing industry, but it is the direction in which their products went that concerns us here. Njanja hoe-sellers travelled largely to the south and south-east, and it was from this direction that most of their customers came to buy in the Njanja territory itself. Before long, they had reached the south-eastern highlands beyond the middle Sabi and into the Duma confederacy, until Njanja settlers among the Duma started their own local industries.[56] This rapidly expanding trade does not appear to have involved any truly revolutionary production techniques, and the most logical explanation of the way in which it developed when it did is that new market forces were involved: in other words, the Wedza iron industry developed because to the south there were thousands of new acres being opened up by the

Karanga, whereas the situation was much more stable to the north and east, where there was much less reliance upon the Njanja and more use of small, local mines.[57]

Another indication of the 'new frontier' status of the south and centre can be seen in the religious question. In the north and east, the system of ancestral spirits and the high-god that had been observed by the Portuguese in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries continued, apparently more or less unchanged. In the south, however, the religious situation became much more complicated, partly because of the mixing of peoples from different areas. In the first place, the *mhondoro* ancestral spirits were retained by the immigrant Karanga even though the term *mhondoro* itself dropped out of use. Thus the Mhari, *ngara*-Govera, Jena, and southern Hera, to name only a few, retained their *mhondoro* cults.[58] Secondly, there were the cults that came with groups that crossed the middle Sabi and which depended upon the physical possession of a rain charm; the Karivara cult of the Devure valley originally possessed such a charm, and the powers of Mhepo of Musikavanhu which augmented those of her husband Pfupajena of Duma ultimately derived from such a charm which had been held by the Musikavanhu rulers over the Sabi.[59] Thirdly, there was the pre-Karanga rain-cult of the Chingoma dynasty.[60] Fourthly there was the Mandara rain-cult of the Duma confederacy, which developed a well-organized hierarchy reaching beyond the Duma borders.[61] Fifthly, there was the Mwari cave-cult, which on the evidence available appears to have established itself in the Matopo hills in the first half of the nineteenth century. This cult spread rapidly across most of the south outside the Duma confederacy in the nineteenth century, and appears to have expanded its influence still further in more recent years.[62] The study of southern Shona religion is a topic in itself, but its importance here is that the wide variety of the cults of the south, and especially the rapid expansion of the Mwari cave-cult, and the readiness of many groups to make use of two or more cults at various times, suggests very strongly that there was a 'new frontier' situation in the south before *c.*1850, with considerable flexibility and choice rather than the distinct hierarchies of the politically long-established territories of the north and east.

Further indications of the 'new frontier' situation were to be found in the changing religious cults of the centre and in the political organizations of the centre and south. The Portuguese observers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had been insis-

tent that each *mhondoro* spirit was an ancestral spirit, and that on the whole each *mhondoro* or *mudzimu* had been revered chiefly by his living descendants in each dynasty or by their subjects. Thus such great *mhondoro* as Chikara-Karuva or Matope Nebedza were regarded as having been the former leaders of the pre-'Guruuswa' Tavara and of the original northern Karanga, respectively, while Kabudu Kagoro was recognized as the founding ancestor of Barwe.[63] The Portuguese made no mention at all of super-*mhondoro* which were not linked to any ruling dynasty or which 'came out' in mediums living far away from their historic bases, and which stood in rank between the ordinary dynastic *mhondoro* and the high-god. It is of course possible that such spirits had been present all the time, but if we are to rely upon the actual evidence, then the first of these super-*mhondoro* spirits only became prominent round about the end of the eighteenth century, if the traditional list of known mediums is compared with those noted in the records. This was the Nyamhita Nehanda spirit, and although traditions link the name of Nyamhita Nehanda to dynasties as far apart as Budya, Nhowe, or the Mutapa state, so that it may be that 'Nehanda' actually dated back to some common source far back in the Shona past, the first historic reference to 'Nehanda' was to the title of the second wife of the early seventeenth-century Mutapas, 'Nyahanda'. Certainly in recent years the Nehanda figure has been most closely associated with the Mutapa dynasty as the daughter of the Mutota figure.[64] As we noted earlier, the southern limits of the Mutapa state are difficult to define, but the place where the Nehanda *mhondoro*-cult arose around about 1800 was well south of the Tsatse river, the limit of the lands that had indisputably belonged to the Mutapa state. This was at Shavarunzi hill, close to the top of the Mazoe valley. Local traditions name three mediums who lived and were buried there before Chargwe, who was hanged in 1898: Chamunga, Damukwa, and Chizani.[65] The hill lay within the territory taken by Hwata of the northern Hera, a people completely unconnected with the Mutapa state, and it is significant that a spirit more or less divorced from the local political structure should have become so prominent.

Much the same can be said about two other super-*mhondoro* cults that were to become famous by the end of the nineteenth century, Chaminuka and Kaguvi. The evidence of the origins of the Chaminuka cult is by no means satisfactory precisely because it has achieved such fame in the present century, but it is possible to

make a few basic statements about it. Firstly, the original Chaminuka does not appear to have been the ancestor of any modern dynasty, and, secondly, there is no reliable evidence of any actual possession of a specific medium before Kachinda, who lived in the Mashayamombe area, or before Pasipamire, a member of the *shava* Rwizi dynasty slightly to the east, who was well known by the late 1870s. Nearly all of the traditions concerning 'Chaminuka' actually refer to this latter medium.[66] As for the Kaguvi cult, the same applies; the earliest known medium was one Kawodza, a member of the *shava* Gwenzi-Chivero dynasty, who lived at about the time of the peak of Ndebele raids in the 1860s.[67] All of these spirits were unrelated to the local dynasties, and all were regarded as being linked to each other and superior to the local dynastic spirits, though few traditions agree upon the exact relationship involved.

What the evidence on central Shona religion appears to suggest is that, in the absence of any centralizing power such as the Mutapa or Changamire states, new forms of worship were evolving that were better suited to a 'new frontier' in which no one unit was powerful enough to dominate the rest. But it is possible that Shona politics were beginning to take a new turn in the 'new frontier' environment. In the past, at least from the coming of the Shona on to the Plateau and the foundation of the Zimbabwe state, Shona groups that migrated tried to take at least part of the state's distinctive features with them. The solid evidence for this before *c.*1500 was the spread of Zimbabwe-culture construction across the Plateau, each *zimbabwe* being a small-scale model of the great prestige buildings in the southern state. Even when stone construction was abandoned, the idea of a capital, a *zimbabwe*, persisted, and practically all of the older dynasties had them, even when they were no more than a large village. Thus, there was the *zimbabwe* of the Chivero dynasty at Chinwaedzi hill, the various *zimbabwe* of the eighteenth-century Mutapa state, and the *zimbabwe* of Teve. Even the seventeenth-century migrants from the north and east either built their own modest capital centres such as those of the Duma, or made use of those already in existence, as did the *moyo* Mutema dynasty in the south-eastern highlands and the Changamire Rozvi in the old Torwa state. Moreover, all these early migrating groups seem to have maintained relatively complex political features that were reminiscent of the Mutapa state: the Teve rulers were screened from the public gaze for part of their installation ceremony, the bodies of Makoni rulers were

mummified after death, women held important ritual positions in Budya, Manyika, and Teve, rulers in Old Buhera and Bocha held the high-ranking title of *mambo*, and so forth.[68] So far, no thorough study of such features across the Plateau has been made, but it seems possible, on the available evidence, that those Shona from the north and east who resettled the centre and south before *c.*1850, with the very important exception of the Duma, were beginning to move away from the ideal of the state, with its elaborate political forms and its economic demands. In the Mutapa state the presence of gold had led Mutapa rulers to send a few cattle to a village near a mine and order the people to spend valuable working-hours on dangerous tasks from which he would reap half the benefit; in Manyika, the spirit medium would interrogate those suspected of cheating the ruler in the mines; in both areas there had been disastrous Portuguese incursions that were attracted by the gold-wealth and the presence of political units to be pressured.

In short, it seems possible that the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Shona who began to move into the centre and south were not only moving away from overcrowded lands and civil wars into the 'new frontier', but they were moving towards a simpler life. They built no more *zimbabwe*, whether of wood or stone, but instead used as a capital whichever hilltop belonged to the house that held the title, which itself tended to be the lowly *ishe* rather than *mambo*. On the 'new frontier' there were no goldfields, and the only exportable wealth was ivory, which was far less amenable to centralized control. From now on, the true index of wealth was to be in the cultivated land, in extensive rather than intensive exploitation of resources. Even the political forms of the north and east tended to drop away: the Seke, Samuriwo, and Svosve dynasties each tried to maintain the principle of having important female-held positions within the dynasty, but in no case did they manage to do so for more than a generation or two.[69] In effect, the whole trend of the resettlement of the centre and south was towards greater simplicity rather than greater complexity.

At this point we leave the central and southern Shona, on the eve of the *mfecane*, the Ndebele and Gaza raiding periods, and the onset of European rule. It is difficult to see how they might have developed if none of these events had occurred. As we have already seen, the central and southern Shona as a whole did not find the *mfecane* an unbearable event. Had the Ndebele and Gaza not

come, would they have continued to expand towards the south-west, or would resistance by the Pfumbi and others leaving the Venda country have halted them? Would their numbers have continued to expand? By 1900 the southern Shona country was one of the most heavily populated parts of the country, and we do not yet know how far the increase could have gone before the Iron Age economy began to run into land shortages that would have been more akin to those we know today, rather than the relatively mild, yet important, land pressures of the past. Speculation, however, is a game to which there is no end, and it is best not pursued further. The account of the 'new frontier' in this chapter completes our survey of the history of the Shona-speaking peoples before *c.*1850, at a point where the modern history of the people is about to begin.

CONCLUSION

Shona Society in 1850

This book stops in 1850 for a number of reasons. In the first place, the movement of peoples about the Plateau ended round about that time and for the rest of the century very little movement took place — a surprising statement in view of colonialist propaganda that exaggerated the impact of the *mfecane*, but an accurate one nevertheless. Not until Land Apportionment was put into effect was large-scale movement to begin again. In the second place, from about 1850 the Shona were never again to have the Plateau all to themselves. The coming of the Nguni-speaking Ndebele and Gaza and of the Rhodesians was to have a permanent effect upon the culture of large numbers of the Shona people, and the whole question of the impact of this half-century of change after nearly a thousand years of Shona dominance will be dealt with in a sequel to this book. Thirdly, by 1850 the Shona states had almost completely vanished from the scene, though the confederal Mutapa state had two more decades of life.

If a Shona from the sixteenth or seventeenth century had been carried forward to the year 1850, many features would seem familiar and yet others would be most strange. Most of the characteristics of the 'little society' described in Chapter 3 would have been found in the villages of the 1850s, although the seventeenth-century Shona would probably have noticed a distinct lack of trade goods such as beads and cloth in use. Much would depend upon the area involved, however. It would be in the 'wider society' that the greatest changes would be obvious. Apart from some of the north-eastern territories such as Maungwe or Manyika, where large villages were still being occupied and defended by walls and ramparts, the large capital sites were a thing of the past. The decline of gold production seems to have paralleled the decline of the large, showy capital to a remarkable extent, in spite of the availability of other forms of wealth such as ivory and cattle. Consequently, the Shona rulers' courts were not as impressive as they had been. Similarly, the large Shona armies of the past were no

longer to be seen, the *gwanan'wana* of the Changamire Rozvi and the *nyai* of the Mutapa had been either worn down by the *mfecane* or dispersed among the various Rozvi and Mutapa houses.

In short, it seems that the Plateau and the Shona were considerably poorer in terms of those elements that went to make up a state. It can be argued, of course, that this was only a loss from the point of view of the rulers rather than the people, and that the 'little societies' of the 'new frontier' of the Inyanga plateau, and the central and southern Plateau had evolved a perfectly successful alternative, based on principles that went back to the very beginning of the Later Iron Age, of extensive development rather than the intensive development practised by the states. In other words, whereas the states had tried to get more value out of their territories than just crops and herds by trading their gold and ivory for foreign goods, the 'little societies' were simply applying the old techniques of agriculture and herding to new acreages, thus leading to the resettlements mentioned above. The trouble with the extensive development system was that, like the intensive system, it could not go on for ever. Sooner or later, if the population of people and beasts increased, there would be a limit to the amount of land available, just as there was a limit to the amount of gold and ivory available to the states.

This potential crisis becomes more obvious if one puts the southern Zambezian Plateau into the context of southern Africa as a whole. In thousands of years of human occupation of southern Africa, the establishment of agriculture was relatively recent, and the introduction of large herds of cattle was more recent still. In 1850 the occupation of southern Africa by crop-raisers and animal-keepers could be looked upon as an experiment, the full results of which were not yet known. If the movement of the Shona northwards over the Limpopo in the tenth century was a response to the introduction of cattle, some of the developments of the eighteenth century seem to suggest that something much more fundamental was going on. For it is now becoming clear that the root causes of the great movements of the Nguni of the nineteenth century, the *mfecane*, lie in an environmental crisis in the eighteenth century, and that the social changes brought about by the various Nguni rulers, including an increase in the military element of society, were probably connected with this. Similarly, the Sotho peoples were on the eve of their *difeqane*, and it has already been pointed out that the Tsonga were beginning to encroach upon what had been Shona territory by 1800. In short, the whole sub-

continent of southern Africa seems to have been entering a period of turmoil in the late eighteenth century, and it is in this context that one must see certain features of Shona society at this time. For, apart from those who took the course of extensive development by migration, as detailed at length in this book, in some ways the eighteenth-century Shona were beginning to pay more attention to raiding and warfare as a means of making a living. There was a definite increase in the level of violence in society, and the Rozvi of the late seventeenth century were soon to be followed by the *nyai* bands of the Mutapa, the bands of Chikunda in the lower Zambezi valley, the raiding Hiya of the 1760s, and the *dumbuseya*, fighters whose bellies were fat from the good life of the raider who threatened the peace of the Duma confederacy. It seems possible that this tendency, still not developed very far by 1850, may have been tied up with a general southern African reaction to land pressures after a thousand years of a combined agricultural and pastoral economy. As pointed out in the beginning of this book, such pressures need not have been serious by modern standards, provided that they were considered to be important by the standards of the people of two centuries ago. But this is, so far, simply a suggestion and cannot be proven with the evidence available. Indeed, it may be that we will not know the answer, for in the case of the Shona their whole society was about to undergo the most profound changes from 1850 onwards.

APPENDIX I

Radiocarbon Dates

'Corrected radiocarbon dates for the Iron Age of Rhodesia'

T.N. Huffman
(National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia)

A marked disparity exists between radiocarbon years and calendar years for certain periods because of the fluctuation in the amount of C-14 in the atmosphere.[1] This difference is probably not significant until after A.D. 1400 for the Iron Age in Africa, and, thereafter, radiocarbon dates are not compatible with historical documents.

Several correction charts have been established from the C-14 dating of tree ring samples with known ages,[2] and, although no single calibration curve has been unanimously approved, they all provide corrections that are similar and closer to the event which the C-14 sample purports to date. Consequently, calibrated dates are more meaningful than uncorrected C-14 dates for Iron Age chronologies.

The dates presented here are based on the Clark and Ralph[3] curves. The corrected dates do not include statistical errors: to obtain these in the Ralph series, ± 10 should be added to the statistical error of the C-14 date, and 50 should be added quadratically ($\pm\sqrt{S1^2 + 50^2}$) in the Clark series.

Radiocarbon dates with doubtful Iron Age associations have been omitted.[4] The remaining dates are arranged by ceramic Traditions and then subdivided into phases: Bambata and Sinoia are parts of separate clusters which have not received formal names; Gokomere and Ziwa are branches of a third cluster which has also not been named; and the Leopard's Kopje, Gumanye, Musengezi and Harare are components of one Tradition now known as Kutama.[5]

Two types of dates in this list have been specially indicated: those that represent different dates of the same event at one site, i.e. linked dates; and those that are earlier than the events they purport to date, since they were determined from the heartwood of long-lived trees.

No calibration curve reliably corrects the atmospheric fluctuations of C-14 after A.D. 1800, and until one becomes available, other forms of dating are better than radiocarbon for this purpose.

(Readers should note that the radiocarbon dates used in the text come from the Ralph series, with 'about' substituted for the statistical errors. It is assumed that all will realize that these are not precise dates.)

Unit	Site		Dates are A.D.	Corrections	
				Ralph et al	*Clark*
EARLY IRON AGE					
BAMBATA					
	Mabveni	SR-43	180 ± 120	180-200	235
	Zimbabwe	M-913	320 ± 150	320-360	363
(Previously considered as Gokomere dates)					
GOKOMERE					
Phase I Gokomere					
	Sighwa	SR-119	410 ± 95	440	440
	Gokomere	SR-26	530 ± 120	570-590	570
	Kinsale	SR-117	540 ± 95	570-590	585
	Mabveni	SR-79	570 ± 110	600	615
Phase II Zhizo					
	Leopard's Kopje Main Kraal l.d.	SR-225	670 ± 90	680	690
		SR-55	700 ± 110	700-720	720
		I-4862	820 ± 95	850	840
	Makuru	N-1275	690 ± 65	690	695
	Taba Zikamambo	SR-68	870 ± 100	910	910
ZIWA					
Phase II Coronation					
	Shemara l.d.	N-1547	660 ± 75	670	690
		N-1548	800 ± 75	830-850	815
	Coronation Park	N-978	710 ± 100	700-730	730
	Ritual Pit, Ziwa Farm	SR-32	850 ± 100	890	880
	Tafuna (previously considered as a Sinoia site)	N-1148	880 ± 105	920	920
Phase III Maxton					
	Coronation Park	N-979	980 ± 100	1010	1015
	Surtic Farm	Pta-1842	1005 ± 35	1020	1035
SINOIA					
Phase I NaBa					
	Sinoia Caves	SR-118	650 ± 95	650-670	685
	NaBa	Pta-1193	690 ± 50	690	715

Unit	Site		Dates are AD	Corrections	
Phase II Lanlory					
	Lanlory l.d.	Pta-6067	820 ± 50	850	840
		SR-245	1030 ± 50	1040	1055
		SR-248	1180 ± 55	1200-1220	1240
	Chitope	SR-163	1110 ± 95	1100-1140	1180
LATER IRON AGE					
KUTAMA TRADITION					
Leopard's Kopje Branch Phase A Mambo					
	Leopard's Kopje Main Kraal	SR-224	845 ± 85	860-880	940
	l.d.	N-772	900 ± 100	940	950
		SR-216	1000 ± 50	1020	1030
		SR-217	1070 ± 60	1080	1100
		SR-218	1070 ± 80	1080	1100
	Mawala Hill	SR-134	1090 ± 95	1100	1150
Bambandynalo					
	Zhizo Hill	TX-228	1040 ± 130	1050	1060
	Venzo Kopje	SR-136	1070 ± 90	1080	1100
	K2	Pta-307	1040 ± 45	1050	1060
		Y-135-17	1050 ± 65	1060	1090
		Pta-305	1090 ± 50	1100	1150
		Pta-304	1100 ± 40	1090-1120	1170
		Pta-306	1130 ± 50	1180	1200
Phase B Woolandale					
	Woolandale	SR-44	1310 ± 90	1310	1355
Mapungubwe					
	Mtanye	Pta-944	1250 ± 40	1250	1315
	Mapila Hill	SR-122	1160 ± 95	1190	1225
		SR-115	1280 ± 95	1260-1290	1335
		Y-135-14	1380 ± 60	1360	1390
		Y-135-9	1420 ± 60	1390	1410
Gumanye Branch — Gumanye					
(Previously called Lower Zimbabwe and Zimbabwe Period II)					
	Zimbabwe Hill	M-914	1075 ± 150	1090	1120

Unit	Site		Dates are AD		Corrections
Musengezi					
	Ruanga		N-1147	1175 ± 100	1210	1240
	Monk's Kop	l.d.	SR-100	1270 ± 95	1260-1290	1330
			SR-101	1285 ± 95	1240	1340
Harare					
	Carrick Creagh		Pta-965	1125 ± 45	1150-1180	1195
	Graniteside		GRN-2341	1270 ± 60	1260-1290	1330
			Y-722	1280 ± 100	1260-1290	1335
	Gadzema		SR-125	1490 ± 120	1420	1435
INGOMBE ILEDE					
	Ingombe Ilede	l.d.	GX-1368	1340 ± 85	1330	1320
			GX-1369	1445 ± 85	1400	1420
	Chedzurgwe	l.d.	SR-180	1440 ± 95	1390	1415
			SR-177	1535 ± 120	1430	1460
			SR-179	1600 ± 120	1470-1500	1495
			SR-162	1740 ± 90	1640	1645
	Mukwichi		SR-227	1565 ± 80	1450	1480
ZIMBABWE TRADITION					
Phase A Zimbabwe					
	Great Zimbabwe		Pta-792	1300 ± 50	1310	1350
				Hill Ruin lintel		
		l.d.	Pta-1192	1305 ± 40	1310	1350
			Pta-1594	1340 ± 40	1330	1370
				Wood from drains in Great Enclosure		
			(Retests of wood previously dated C-613, 590 ± 120; C-917, 700 ± 90 and GL-19, 710 ± 80)			
			Pta-1208	1350 ± 50	1340	1375
				Peasant area		
			SR-47	1380 ± 90	1360	1390
				Midden under Great Enclosure		
			M-915	1440 ± 150	1390	1390
				Upper levels, Hill		
	Lekkerwater	l.d.	SR-197	1445 ± 45	1400	1420
			SR-129	1450 ± 95	1410	1420

Unit	Site		Dates are A.D.		Corrections
		l.d.	SR-124	1510 ± 90	1430	1445
			SR-182	1580 ± 90	1460, 1500	1485
			SR-184	1585 ± 105	1460, 1500	1490
	Khami basal level		SR-94	1455 ± 95	1410	1420
	Little Mapila		SR-120	1460 ± 90	1410	1425
	Musimbira		Pta-1194	1480 ± 40	1420	1440
	Ruanga		N-1146	1500 ± 85	1420	1440
	Chipadze	l.d.	SR-25	1300 ± 120	1300	1350
			SR-70	1340 ± 90	1330	1370
			SR-71	1510 ± 90	1430	1445
			Pta-1411	1550 ± 40	1440	1470
	Umtali Altar		N-1145	1580 ± 100	1460, 1500	1485
	Nhunguza		SR-196	1485 ± 50	1420	1435
	Zaka		SR-195	1695 ± 55	1530, 1630	1620
Phase B Khami					
	Khami	l.d.	Pta-744	1380 ± 50 Heartwood post	1360	1390
			Pta-748	1510 ± 50 Heartwood post	1430	1445
	Regina		Pta-1553	1690 ± 40	1530, 1610	1615
	Chamabvefva		Pta-605	1700 ± 50	1530, 1630	1625
Shona Mines					
	Aboyne Mine		SR-53	1170 ± 110	1210	1230
			SR-58	1300 ± 110	1300	1350
	Geelong Mine		SR-143	1170 ± 95	1210	1230
INYANGA TERRACE TRADITION					
	Zimbiti Fort		Pta-1191	1750 ± 50	1650	1650
	N3, van Niekerk		Pta-1595	1810 ± 45	1620, 1720, 1780	1727
	Glenhead	l.d.	Pta-1412	1875 ± 40	too recent to correct	
			Pta-1549	1890 ± 45	too recent to correct	
ATYPICAL STONE BUILDING					
	Mutema's Sacred Grove	l.d.	SR-37	1150 ± 90 Heartwood	1190	1220
			SR-36	1230 ± 120 Heartwood	1240	1290

APPENDIX II

The Population of the Plateau

A major theme in this book is the question of population pressures on the Plateau. It is repeatedly argued that population pressures have been relative rather than absolute, but even so it would be of considerable use if we had some idea of the actual numbers of people involved. Unfortunately, we have only a rough idea of the population round about 1850; for the earlier centuries we have even less to go upon. To begin with, while populations may remain static or even decline, a gradual expansion appears to have been the rule since the evolution of agriculture in the world. In the case of the Plateau, however, two dramatic expansions must be taken into account. One would accompany the arrival of the Early Iron Age, since the hunter-gatherer population was obviously very small and since the spread of the Bantu Iron Age obviously involved large numbers of people. The other would equal the arrival of the Shona Later Iron Age since, as argued above, the evidence suggests that a large immigration took place. It is possible that during the Later Iron Age there have been overall rises and falls of the population of the Plateau, but we have no evidence for this one way or the other. What the evidence does seem to suggest is the picture presented here, of *local* variations in population.

Many Rhodesian books have made estimates for the African population of the country of 350,000 to 500,000 in 1890. Obviously, no census was taken in that year, and the figure was evidently arrived at by projecting backwards an apparent increase from 1901 (489,600) to 1911 (692,921). Quite apart from the fact that such a projection would give the country a population of zero in 1850, the apparent rise is suspect. Rhodesian authors have tended to assume that it resulted from the natural increase caused by the ending of the state of perpetual warfare described by the propagandist writings of such authors as Selous. Research has shown that the degree of violence on the Plateau in the nineteenth century has been grossly exaggerated. The apparent increase almost certainly comes from the growing efficiency of the Native Department at tax collection. Although there was a natural tendency for the people to avoid being counted in a census because the census takers were also the tax collectors, growing familiarity with the districts on the part of the Native Commissioners would have led to the dramatic 42 per cent apparent increase in the population between 1901 and 1911. Between 1911 and 1926, however, the apparent increase dropped from 42 per cent to 13 per cent by 1921 and

then to 9,5 per cent. Even allowing for the Spanish influenza epidemic of 1918, it seems probable that the decline in population increase reflected the final stages of increasing efficiency at census taking before the population began to be affected by the drop in infant mortality caused by the introduction of clinics. In other words, the population figure of 750,000 ± 100,00 for the period 1911-26 was probably a *relatively* accurate reflection of a slowly expanding population on the Plateau at the end of almost two thousand years of Iron Age settlement. Some additions and subtractions must be made, however, if the Plateau figure is to be converted into a Shona figure: about 20,000 of the Ndebele would have been representative of the actual Nguni-Sotho immigration of the 1840s, and a few thousand of the south-eastern lowveld Tsonga-Hlengwe would also represent immigrant stock. On the other hand, in 1950 the Portuguese claimed a figure of 1,155,000 Shona for Moçambique, which would raise the nineteenth-century Shona figures considerably.

What all this means is that discussions of precolonial population will probably have to work within a figure of 750,000 ± 100,000 for the Plateau. The figure can give us a very crude idea of the numbers of people involved in the movements across the Plateau: Hartley District was thought to have a local figure of round about 9,000 in 1911-21. It is difficult to estimate the distribution of people under the various rulers, but in the 1960s the Mashayamombe dynasty ruled about one-third to one-quarter of the people. It is therefore highly unlikely that the Mashayamombe rulers had more than 3,000 people in 1850. Of these, some would have been former subjects of the Chivero dynasty and others would have been the children and grandchildren of the immigrant Guzho of the latter half of the eighteenth century. A very rough guess at the numbers of the latter would be between 500 and 1,000. I am only too aware of the pitfalls in making this kind of estimate, but I think it important to point out that the individual dynastic movements described in this book may well have involved as many as 500 people at a time.[1]

APPENDIX III

Shona Totems

As was pointed out in Chapter 2, the *mutupo* or totem of the Shona people combines several functions. Because it is both a symbol of identity and a safeguard against incest, and because at a dynastic or family level it indicates descent from one man, many Shona extend this principle to the entire Shona people and assume that all Shona of the same totem must necessarily be related. This cannot be proved, however, and the fact that many totems used by the Shona are also found throughout Bantu-speaking Africa would tend to argue against such a straightforward assumption. It is just as likely that some Shona groups evolved or borrowed totems independently of one another.

The most common Shona totems concern animals or parts of the body. In this book I have usually used one version of each totem throughout, but in Shona there are a lot of synonyms for words, and I indicate these below:

Shava, nhuka: eland
Tembo, dube, mbizi, mazvimbakupa: zebra
Soko, chirongo: vervet-monkey
Shonga, nyati: buffalo
Shumba: lion (see also *bonga, hwere, hara, chibgha:* cat and *bumphi:* dog)
Shiri, hungwe: bird
Dziva: pool (see also *hove,* fish, *mbedzi*)
Nzou: elephant (see also *zhou*)
Mhara: impala
Ngara, nungu: porcupine
Nguruve, humba: wild pig
Nhari: ?
Gwai: sheep
Chuma: beads
Ngonya: woman's genitals
Moyo, mhumba: heart
Gumbo: leg
Mbano: ?

Among the northern Shona, a series of totems is used, such as *nzou-samanyanga* (elephant-keeper of great tusks), and so a hyphen is used to indicate these series. A small span is used to show that a totem changed from one to another in the course of a dynasty's history, such as *tembo-shumba* or *soko-shumba.* The

central and southern Shona use the *chidawo* praise-name, indicated here by a preceding stroke that distinguishes it from the *mutupo.* In some cases the *chidawo* gives a definite link with one specific dynasty: for example, the *museyamwa* (crutch or support) praise-name for most Hera *shava*-totem dynasties is a play upon the name of the Hera ancestor figure, Mbiru. In other cases the *chidawo* is simply a *dupo* or emphasis on the *mutupo,* so that the combination of *soko/vudzijena* (vervet-monkey/grey hairs) refers to the monkey's appearance. It does not necessarily follow that all *soko/vudzijena* groups are related, whereas all *shava/museyamwa* probably are. The *chidawo* can also change over the years, so one may refer to a group by both, thus: *vudzijena-mhondizvo.*

It is possible to get over-involved in Shona totemism. For the historian, a totem is simply a piece of evidence whose reliability varies, and a convenient aid to the memory, in that it serves to help identify various dynasties.

APPENDIX IV

Generational Dating

History is a study of societies over a period of time, but for most of the history of the Shona there are no documents that supply sufficient dates. Radiocarbon dating gives us a rough guide to the period before *c.*1450, but there are few dates for the period after that date. The only other method of dating events is considerably less accurate than the other two, but in many areas it is the only method available. This is generational dating, which depends upon the existence of a family tree preserved by traditions and the knowledge that sons tend to die at a varying number of years after their fathers depending on their position in a line of brothers. In other words, if a Shona father has a considerable number of sons, it can be shown from a test made on some thirty-odd Shona dynasties that his eldest son will probably die about 23 years after him, and his youngest son about 60 years after him. An elder son — not the eldest but fairly senior — will probably die about 27 years after his father, and a son from somewhere in the middle of a long line of sons will probably die about 42 years after his father.

From this it is possible to calculate backwards from a known natural death of a Shona ruler, usually in the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries, through the family tree to the death date of the first known ancestor in the dynasty. A basic error of ± 20 years is increased by 4 years for each generation, thus ± 20, ± 24, ± 28, ± 32, etc. This, it must be stressed, is a date of very problematical accuracy: there are so many ways in which family trees may be altered by accident or design in the course of oral transmission that no-one can compare such dates with documentary dating. Nevertheless, unless we are to abandon all attempts to supply some kind of chronology for Shona history, generational dating has to be used. As in the case of radiocarbon dating, the greatest pitfall of the method lies in human error in the handling of data rather than the data themselves. All Shona family trees are not of equal reliability or unreliability, and the historian has to examine each piece of evidence individually. In particular, the historian must learn to think of generational dating more in the fashion of radiocarbon dating than of documentary dates. Thus a generational date of *1700 ± 44, even if derived from a reasonably consistent set of different family trees, only suggests a death date somewhere between the calendar dates of 1656 and 1744 at best. On the other hand, it does not follow that all Shona family trees are necessarily corrupt, and an examination of Shona generational dates

over the Plateau shows what seems to be a general, but very loose, consistency between the dates and the traditions of the various groups. Generational dating is thus regarded as an inevitably crude dating tool that requires careful and cautious use but which has its uses in the reconstruction of the past.

APPENDIX V

The Evidence for the Power of the Rozvi

This is a summary of all available evidence on the power of the Changamire state, or of local Rozvi groups, over their Shona neighbours. The evidence is divided according to area, and some attempt is made to date the actual period of Rozvi influence according to the criteria used in Chapter 7. It is of course possible that further research will considerably vindicate earlier and more generous estimates of Rozvi power, but it is equally possible that the passage of time combined with the contamination of traditions by school text books will make it impossible to answer the questions concerning the nature of Rozvi influence posed in this book.

(1) Urungwe, Damba and Makonde (11 dynasties)

This area was on the route from the Changamire state to Zumbo, and must have been crossed by Changamire armies on occasions, but no tradition refers to Changamire political influence. The nearest equivalents to the Changamire Rozvi were the Korekore of the Nyamapfeka Kagore dynasty.[1]

(2) Mutapa state: Mukaranga, Dande and Chidima (Mutapa dynasty)

Apart from the period *c.*1684-1704, no Changamire influence was reliably recorded by documents or traditions, and the Changamire impact was uneven during these decades. There are traditions of vestigial Changamire respects paid to the Mutapa in later decades.[2]

(3) Budya and Barwe (Budya, Nyamkoko, Nyakuchena, Chimoyo, Nechombo and Makombe dynasties)

No reliable traditions or documents on Changamire power.[3]

(4) The Umfuli valley area: Chwaya, Chisvipi, Madzongwe, Rimuka, Bvuti-Chikore, Chipata and Nyamweda's land (Neuso, Gwenzi-Chivero, Mashayamombe, Ngezi, Chirau, Zvimba and Nyamweda dynasties)

A Neuso tradition that confuses the Rozvi with the Chaminuka *mhondoro* cult claims that the Rozvi allocated Neuso's land, but that the Rozvi were unable to prevent the seizure of part of that land by Ngezi's Tonga. The Neuso rulers were said to be appointed by the Nemakonde.[4] According to the Ngezi Tonga, all their rulers were appointed by the Rozvi, and they claim that their land was also allocated by the Rozvi. Since the Ngezi dynasty predated the rise to power of the Changamire, this may refer to the Torwa.[5] The Gwenzi-Chivero dynasty of Chisvipi was allied to the Changamire dynasty apparently from the late seventeenth century, as was

mentioned in the main text. There was a special link with the *shava/mhondizvo* Mavudzi dynasty and both this line and the *moyo* Rozvi seem to have regularly confirmed or installed Gwenzi-Chivero rulers. The Rozvi also settled a war between the Chivero and the immigrant Chigutiro group.[6] Mashayamombe of Madzongwe, on the other hand, only settled in the latter half of the eighteenth century and does not seem to have had anything to do with the Rozvi, apart from having a Rozvi subruler as positional father-in-law and subordinate.[7] The Chirau dynasty of Bvuti-Chikore seems to have regularly had rulers confirmed by the Rozvi, and one house seems to have used the Rozvi in order to succeed to the title three times in succession.[8] Zvimba of Chipata predated Changamire, so the claim that the Rozvi leader Tumbare allocated land to the first Zvimba probably refers to an early exercise of Torwa power. The Rozvi unsuccessfully backed one claimant on the death of Zvimba Chipokoteke *1745 ± 40, and had little to do with Zvimba politics after that until they appointed Mandaza in the first half of the nineteenth century. This was apparently an isolated event.[9] The Nyamweda *moyo* dynasty of the middle Hunyani valley had a fairly strong tradition of installations by the Rozvi up to the late nineteenth century.[10]

(5) The central moyo nuclear area: Harava, North Shawasha, Satwa, Chikwaka's land, Mpakwe, Nhowe, Maringari, Mani, Chihota's land, Tsunga, Chirimuka and Mbire III (Seke, Chinamhora, Musana, Chikwaka, Rusike, Mangwende, Nenguwo, Samuriwo, Chihota, Nyandoro, Mudzimirema and Svosve dynasties)

In Musana's and Chikwaka's land two dynasties, those of Tambi the Rozvi and Gora's *gwai* people respectively, were displaced by migrations of the current dynasties, apparently before the late seventeenth century. In the case of Musana of Satwa, there is no mention of any Rozvi support for Tambi. In Chikwaka's case the Rozvi connived at the replacement of Gora, and appointed Chikwaka Benhura, after which no further Rozvi intervention was noted.[11] Rusike of Mpakwe was said to have always been appointed by the Rozvi.[12] Seke of Harava drove out the NeHarava *shava* dynasty in the early eighteenth century. NeHarava was almost certainly a Changamire tributary, and there followed a war with the Rozvi in which Seke Mutema was killed. Nevertheless, the Rozvi did not drive out the new dynasty. Some Seke sources, possibly influenced by text-books, claim that the Rozvi appointed all subsequent Seke rulers, but Seke also paid tribute to Nyandoro at one point, and the next definite occasion when the Rozvi intervened was on the death of Seke Njiri, in the mid-nineteenth century, when they murdered Chawuruka on behalf of Zhakata house. This appears to have been an isolated event.[13] At about the same time that Seke replaced Neharava, Chinamhora's northern Shawasha conquered Ditoti's *soko* Rozvi. There was no reaction from the Changamire, nor any further contact with the Rozvi.[14] The founda-

tion of the Mangwende dynasty of Nhowe represented a definite disturbance of the local land settlement laid down by the Changamire, and led to the expulsion of the local Rozvi rulers. A claim that the *nzou* territory of Tsokoto survived by an appeal to the Changamire is not borne out by Tsokoto traditions. Rozvi influence did not definitely reappear until the Hundungu house, dominant since the 1870s, called for Rozvi aid in order to become dominant. Since then, the Rozvi-Hundungu alliance has been maintained and consequently local traditions tend to stress the Rozvi role.[15] The Nenguwo *shumba* dynasty of Maringari was apparently not affected by the Rozvi.[16] The Samuriwo of Mani was vaguely related to the Rozvi, and accepted land from the local Rozvi ruler Gunguwo, but after his fall there seems to have been no contact with the Rozvi until the death of Samuriwo Chiviri in *1814 ± 28. The Rozvi, however, were only one of several groups then intervening in Samuriwo politics, and there do not seem to have been regular Rozvi installations after this, although Samuriwo Wiri was confirmed by the Gwangwava Rozvi from Charter in the 1930s.[17] The Chihota dynasty drove out Gunguwo's Rozvi in the mid-eighteenth century. The Changamire did not support his subordinate, but instead confirmed Chihota as ruler. The Rozvi next intervened in an incipient civil war between the Bindu and Mudzudzu houses in the first half of the nineteenth century. They sent for Bindu's son to come to Nyandoro's to be installed, whereupon they murdered him in order to benefit Mudzudzu's son who was, however, murdered in his turn and not avenged by the Rozvi. No further Rozvi interventions are noted.[18] Nyandoro of Tsunga was fairly closely linked to the Changamire, in that the Rozvi used Nyandoro's as a temporary base when intervening in the politics of the upper-Umfuli Shona. But Nyandoro also received tribute from Samuriwo, Chihota, Seke and Nenguwo and made at least one appointment in the Samuriwo dynasty. The first definite Rozvi installation of Nyandoro was that of Kunzvi in the mid-nineteenth century, and in his reign at least the importance of Rozvi backing was stressed by vaTsunga and Rozvi alike.[19] Chirimuka was occupied by the Mudzimirema *soko* dynasty, a branch of the Mbire, which had a tradition of installation by the Rozvi.[20] The main branch of the Mbire in Mbire III under the Svosve dynasty originally settled in the first half of the eighteenth century by agreement with the local Rozvi ruler Gunguwo, and intermarriage led to the Mbire borrowing the Rozvi praise-name *mhondizvo*, but the next Rozvi move was an unsuccessful attempt to back Choto Mtuta Chidyausiku as Svosve on the death of his father Chikungwa in the 1860s.[21]

(6) The eastern Shona: Maungwe, Manyika and Sanga (Makoni, Chikanga-Mutasa and Mutema dynasties)

Maungwe and the Makoni dynasty predated the rise of the Changamire and documents show that the Changamire was powerful there in the late seventeenth century. The first local mention of

Rozvi power was on the death of Makoni Muswere at the same time, when the Changamire aided one house in a succession crisis. Later, probably from the mid-eighteenth century, the Tandi house of Rozvi settled locally, but the tradition that the Tandi acted as the local representative of the Changamire through the Mavudzi may be a reflection of recent practice after the Mavudzi and the rest of the Changamire's associates settled in the west of Maungwe in the 1850s.[22] Manyika, which also predated the Changamire's rise to power, was conquered by him in 1695. It seems very likely that it was at this time that an *nguruve*-totem dynasty of Chikangas was replaced by a *tembo*-totem dynasty of the same name, which may have been the exiled house of Mutapa Nyakunembire. Certainly Manyika seems to have been strongly under Changamire influence in the early eighteenth century, but the Portuguese writers of the 1780s and 1790s upon whose accounts we rely for that period were affected by the fact that, as traders who were having trouble with the Chikanga rulers, they hoped to get Changamire aid, either directly or through the intermediacy of the Portuguese government. This meant that their claims that the Chikanga always paid tribute to the Changamire might have been exaggerated. As late as 1796 one of the contenders for the Chikanga title claimed that he was to be installed by the Rozvi, but in fact the last solid evidence for Rozvi power in Manyika was the army which arrived in the early 1780s to protect the Portuguese while they rebuilt their fort.[23] In the main text it has been shown that the only real connection between the Changamire and the bulk of the Rozvi-related *moyo* dynasties of the south-eastern highlands was through the Mutema dynasty of Sanga, which was vaguely recognized as the senior dynasty of the area. But although there was a tradition both of a blood link between the Mutema and Changamire dynasties, and of Changamire installation of Mutema rulers, the installations came to an end in *c.*1729-35 after a major war in which the Mutema defeated the Changamire, a defeat described in semi-mythical terms in which the Rozvi were repelled by bees. After that, there was no further contact.[24]

(7) The central shava nuclear area: Bocha, Buhera, Zvinjanja and Zvihota (Marange, Mbiru-Nyashanu, Gambiza and Maromo dynasties)

Marange Mutekwatekwa was the first recorded ruler of Bocha, and was said to have been installed by the Rozvi at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The next Marange who was definitely stated to have been so installed was Nzvengwa, on the death of Dongorere or Mukwada in the middle of the nineteenth century; Nzvengwa was facing the internal threat of the Mutsago house, and from then on at least some of the Marange rulers followed his example.[25] Mbiru of Buhera accepted Rozvi overrule at about the end of the seventeenth century, and Rozvi boundaries were laid down, while Mbiru Marazha used Rozvi aid to overthrow his father in the early eighteenth century. But Marazha then expanded

Hera power beyond the borders laid down by the Rozvi, and the next Rozvi intervention was in the reign of Nyashanu Mutema, *1858 ± 22, when the Rozvi sent an army, ostensibly to collect tribute for the Mambo but actually to carry out a raid. On his death his brother, Muradzikwa, obtained Rozvi support, and after that some Nyashanu rulers were appointed by the upper Sabi Rozvi.[26] The Njanja were originally an immigrant group who were sponsored by the local Gwangwava Rozvi and who borrowed their *moyo* totem, in the early eighteenth century, but they did not deal with the Rozvi again until the end of the century, when they gained Rozvi aid in overthrowing the local *shiri*-totem ruler Chirwa. This appears to have ended the Rozvi connection.[27] Maromo's Guzho of Zvihota claim always to have had Rozvi appointments, from their settlement in the mid-eighteenth century.[28]

(8) The Duma Confederacy

There has been a lot of confusion of the evidence, because of local Rozvi-Duma land disputes with consequent rejection of Rozvi claims by the Duma. Nevertheless, a careful study by R.M.G. Mtetwa has failed to uncover any evidence for Rozvi intervention, other than a temporary alliance in the early eighteenth century.[29]

(9) The area of Karanga resettlement east of the Tokwe (Gutu, Chirimuhanzu, Hama, Zimuto, early Chivi, Charumbira, Nemanwa and Mapanzure dynasties)

The Gutu dynasty was founded in the mid-eighteenth century by Mabwazhe, who drove out the local *shiri* Chasura dynasty in a war. The Rozvi made no attempt to stop this, and from then on until the fall of the Changamire state the Gutu dynasty paid tribute. The presence of the Rozvi community nearby at Ndarikure, of the Mutinhima house in the Duma confederacy and the Washaya house within Gutu made it possible for a certain amount of Rozvi installation to continue into the twentieth century.[30] Chirimuhanzu's group migrated right into the Changamire state area in the second half of the eighteenth century, but it was allocated land close to Ndarikure and encouraged to drive out Dehwe's Njanja. The Rozvi continued to install Chirimuhanzu rulers up to the fall of their state, and they did so once more, in *c.*1889.[31] The Hama dynasty seems to have settled and spread without any reference to the Rozvi.[32] The Zimuto dynasty settled in the eighteenth century and accepted land from and intermarriage with the Rozvi, but the traditions that support this claim are not entirely reliable.[33] The Chivi dynasty started off by conquering the people of the modern Mashaba area, with no response from the Rozvi, in the late eighteenth century.[34] The Nemanwa dynasty took part in the very occasional Rozvi ceremonies at Zimbabwe in the eighteenth century, but this seems to have been the limit of the connection.[35] There does not appear to have been any Rozvi connection with the Charumbira or Mapanzure dynasties.[36]

(10) The area of Karanga resettlement west of the Tokwe (Gambiza, Chiwundura, Wozhere, Ndanga, Nhema, Banka, Masunda, later Chivi, Nebungowa, Mapiravana, Mudavanhu, Mahlebadza, Nemavuzhe, Gororo, Madzivire, Nebgwine and Neshuro dynasties)

The Gambiza *dziva* dynasty settled after the fall of the Rozvi state, as did the Chiwundura *shava* group. The Wozhere dynasty settled shortly before this, with the agreement of the Mutinhima house.[37] The Ndanga *shiri* dynasty settled on the upper Lundi after accepting land from the Mutinhima Rozvi, but the northern Mhari under Nhema and Banka at first settled with the support of the Changamire at the expense of a local Rozvi ruler, Boroma, and then fought and killed the Changamire Rupandamananga. Banka's *shumba* Mhari were opposed to Chirimuhanzu and his Rozvi allies.[38] The Nebungowa drove out the Changamire's Mazhe subjects without any immediate Rozvi reaction, and became tributaries themselves. They in turn were driven out by Chivi's Mhari, who had Rozvi backing. This latter event, however, occurred in the middle of the Ndebele-Rozvi wars and was not followed up.[39] Masunda's *shiri* were granted land by the Rozvi just before the fall of the state.[40] The Zumba and Rufura of Mudavanhu, Mapiravana and Mahlebadza have no reliable traditions of having been ruled by the Rozvi, nor have the dynasties of the lower Tokwe-Lundi area or the lowveld fringes.[41]

Notes

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES AND SOURCES

Anais	*Anais da Junta de Investigações do Ultramar* (1954), IX, i.
A.N.C.	Assistant Native Commissioner
Arq. Hist. Ultramar.	Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon
Bibl. da Ajuda	Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon
Chronista	*O Chronista de Tissuary* (1867), II.
C.N.C.	Chief Native Commissioner
D.C.	District Commissioner
Delin. Rep.	Delineation Report
Documents	*Documents on the Portuguese in Mozambique and Central Africa, 1497-1840*, ed. A. da Silva Rego and T.W. Baxter (Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos and National Archives of Rhodesia [and Nyasaland], 8 vols to date, 1962-).
Goa Arch.	Goa Archives, Panaji.
Gomes, 'Viagem' (1648)	'Viagem que fez o Padre Antº Gomes, da Compª de Jesus, ao Imperio de de (sic) Manomotapa; e assistência que fez nas ditas terras dᵉ Algu's annos' (2 Jan. 1648), ed. E. Axelson, in *Studia* (1959), III.
Hist. Mss Colln	Historical Manuscripts Collection of the National Archives of Rhodesia, Salisbury
J.Afr.Hist.	*The Journal of African History*
Min. Intern. Affs	Ministry of Internal Affairs, Salisbury.
Moç.	Moçambique
N.C.	Native Commissioner
Pers. commun.	Personal communication
P. (N.) C.	Provincial (Native) Commissioner
Proc. Trans Rhod. Sci. Assoc.	*Proceedings and Transactions of the Rhodesia Scientific Association*
Records	*Records of South Eastern Africa*, ed. G.M. Theal (Cape Town, Government of Cape Colony, 9 vols, 1898-1903).
Rhod. Hist.	*Rhodesian History*
Rhod. Prehist.	*Rhodesian Prehistory*
South Afr. Archaeol. Bull.	*The South African Archaeological Bulletin*
Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep.	University of Rhodesia History Department

* Unless otherwise indicated, all archival references are to the National Archives of Rhodesia, Salisbury; unlike the Historical Manuscripts Collection there, the archives of the British South Africa Company Administration and of the Southern Rhodesia Government have no collective designation.

CHAPTER 1

1. João de Barros, 'Of Asia, of the deeds which the Portuguese did in the conquest and discovery of the lands and seas of the orient, Decade I' (1552), *Records [of South Eastern Africa]*, ed. G.M. Theal (Cape Town, Government of Cape Colony, 9 vols, 1898-1903), VI, 266; some of this information on the Plateau came from Vicente Pegado, who was instructed to collect data during his Captaincy at Sofala from 1530 to 1538, E. Axelson, *Portuguese in South-East Africa 1488-1600* (Cape Town, Struik, 1973), 125-32; Pᵉ Gaspar de Macedo, 'Informação' (21 July 1633), Goa Arch[ives, Panaji], Livros das Monções [do Reino], XLI, 17-19v.
2. M.O. Collins (ed.), *Rhodesia: Its Natural Resources and Economic Development* (Salisbury, M.O. Collins, 1965).
3. B.M. Fagan, *Southern Africa during the Iron Age* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1965), 36-8; C.K. Cooke and H.A.B. Simons, 'Mpato shelter: Sentinel Ranch, Limpopo River, Beitbridge, Rhodesia: Excavation results', *Arnoldia* (1969), IV, xviii; K.R. Robinson, 'Dombozanga rock shelter, Mtetengwe River, Beit Bridge, Southern Rhodesia: Excavation results', *Arnoldia* (1964), I, vii; M. Wilson, 'The hunters and herders', in M. Wilson and L. Thompson (eds), *The Oxford History of South Africa* (London, Oxford Univ. Press, 2 vols, 1969-71), I, 40-54; M. Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics* (London, Tavistock, 1974), 1-39; on definitions of 'site territories' and 'mobile economies', see E.S. Higgs and C. Vita-Finzi, 'Prehistoric economies: A territorial approach', in E.S. Higgs (ed.), *Papers in Economic Prehistory* (London, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1972), 27-36. It should be noted that Higgs and Vita-Finzi suggest a two-hour walking radius for hunter-gatherer groups and a one-hour radius for agriculturists.
4. B. Fagan, 'The Greefswald Sequence: Bambandyanalo and Mapungubwe', [*The*] *J[ournal of] Afr[ican] Hist[ory]* (1964), V, 341-4; G.P. Rightmire, 'Iron Age skulls from Southern Africa reassessed by multiple discriminant analysis', *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* (1970), XXXIII, 147-67.
5. Cooke and Simons, 'Mpato shelter', 8.
6. T.N. Huffman, 'The Early Iron Age and the spread of the Bantu', [*The*] *South Afr[ican] Archaeol[ogical] Bull[etin]* (1970), XXV, 3-21; R.C. Soper, 'A general review of the Early Iron Age of the southern half of Africa', *Azania* (1971), VI, 5-38; D.W. Phillipson, 'The chronology of the Iron Age in Bantu Africa', *J.Afr.Hist.* (1975), XVI, 321-42.

7. There is no up-to-date general survey of Plateau archaeology at present, and the reader is referred to the works cited in T.N. Huffman, 'Radiocarbon dates and bibliography of the Rhodesian Iron Age', *Rhod[esian] Prehist[ory]*, (1973), XI, 3-8. This bibliography is particularly valuable because it is divided into the relevant archaeological sections.
8. E.S. Higgs and M.R. Jarman, 'The origins of plant and animal husbandry', in Higgs, *Papers in Economic Prehistory*, 10.
9. Huffman, 'The Early Iron Age and the spread of the Bantu', 3-21; D.W. Phillipson, 'Iron Age history and archaeology in Zambia', *J.Afr.Hist.* (1974), XV, 11.
10. Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics*, 42ff; Diogo de Alcáçova to the King, 20 Nov. 1506, *Documents [on the Portuguese in Mozambique and Central Africa 1497-1840]*, ed. A da Silva Rego and T.W. Baxter (Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos and National Archives of Rhodesia [and Nyasaland], 8 vols, 1962-75), 395; João dos Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 191-2.
11. T.N. Huffman, 'The Iron Age of the Buhwa district of Rhodesia', *Occasional Papers of the National Museums and Monoments of Rhodesia* (1978), Series A, Human Sciences, IV, iii, 81-100.
12. Huffman, 'Radiocarbon dates and bibliography', 5; nearly all radiocarbon dates in this book have been corrected to calendar dates by the southern hemisphere radiocarbon correction chart, and details are given in Appendix I; T.N. Huffman, 'The orgins of Leopard's Kopje: An 11th century Difaquane', *Arnoldia* (1978), VIII, xxiii.
13. Huffman, 'Radiocarbon dates and bibliography, 6.
14. Cooke and Simons, 'Mpato shelter', 4.
15. C. Ehret, 'Outlining Southern African history: A re-evaluation A.D. 100-1500', *Ufahamu* (1972), III, i, 24.
16. T.N. Huffman, 'The linguistic affinities of the Iron Age in Rhodesia', *Arnoldia* (1974), VII, vii, 1-12; K.R. Robinson, 'The pottery sequence of Malawi briefly compared with that already established south of the Zambezi', *Arnoldia* (1973), VI, xviii, 1-12; Phillipson, 'Iron Age . . . in Zambia', 1-25.
17. Huffman, 'Radiocarbon dates and bibliography', 4-5; T.N. Huffman, *The Leopard's Kopje Tradition* (Salisbury, National Museums and Monuments Memoir No. 4, 1974), 128-31.
18. T.N. Huffman, 'A guide to the Iron Age of Mashonaland', *Occasional Papers of the National Museums of Rhodesia* (1971), IVA, i, 20-44.
19. Pers[onal] commun[ication] from Dr T.N. Huffman; P.S. Garlake, 'Chitope: An Early Iron Age village in northern Mashonaland', *Arnoldia* (1969), IV, ix, 1-14.
20. T.N. Huffman, 'Cattle from Mabveni', *South Afr. Archaeol. Bull.* (1975), XXX, 23; T.N. Huffman, 'Test excavations at Makuru, Rhodesia', *Arnoldia* (1973), IV, xxxix, 9; Huffman, *The Leopard's Kopje Tradition*, 63-5, 73; the early Mabveni sample of cattle teeth is tiny, but its significance lies in the fact that it was present at all.
21. Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 212; 'Viagem que fez o Padre Ant°. Gomes da Comp.ª de Jesus, ao Imperio de de (sic) Manomotapa; e assistência que fez nas ditas terras d°. Algu's annos' (2 Jan. 1648), *Studia* (1959), III, 207-8 (hereafter cited as Gomes, 'Viagem' (1648).
22. Phillipson, 'Iron Age . . . in Zambia', 22; J.R.D. Cobbing, 'The Ndebele under the Khumalos, 1820-1896' (Univ. of Lancaster, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, 1976), 467, gives an Ndebele-speaking population in the 1890s, after a half century of growth, of 70,000 ± 10,000 of whom about 33 per cent were descended from immigrants from south of the Limpopo.

23. Phillipson, 'Iron Age . . . in Zambia', 12-13; Cobbing, 'The Ndebele under the Khumalos', 45ff; T.M. Thomas, *Eleven Years in Central South Africa* (London, J. Snow, 1873), 174-5, S.S. Dornan, 'Rhodesian ruins and native tradition', *Report of the Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science . . . 1915* (Cape Town, The Association, 1916), 508.
24. See below, Appendix II on the population of the Plateau.
25. M.R. Izzett, 'Report on the archaeological survey of the new Darwendale dam basin', *Rhod. Prehist.* (1974), VI, xiii, 5.
26. Ehret, 'Outlining Southern African history', 10-14.
27. *The Diary of Dr Andrew Smith*, ed. P.R. Kirby (Cape Town, Van Riebeeck Soc., 2 vols, 1939-40), II, 22-3, 214-15; *The Matabele Journals of Robert Moffat, 1829-1860*, ed. J.P.R. Wallis (London, Chatto and Windus 2 vols, 1945), I, 233, 369; as late as 1890 it was being accurately pointed out by the Portuguese that the central Shona did not use the term 'Shona' of themselves, but the Ndebele usage gained ground with the help of the writers of dictionaries and grammars; B. de Freitas, 'Memorandum on the Rights of Portugal in the Territories to the South of the Zambesi, 12 July 1890', Public Record Office, London, F[oreign] O[ffice], 179 [Embassy and Consular Archives, Portugal, Correspondence, 1800-1912], 279, 57; G. Fortune, '75 years of writing in Shona', *Zambezia* (1969), I, i, 57-8.
28. Especially the Karanga and Korekore dialect clusters; see Chapter 8.
29. Huffman, *The Leopard's Kopje Tradition*, 128-31; Huffman, 'Radiocarbon dates and bibliography', 4; P.S. Garlake, *Great Zimbabwe* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1973), 155-7.
30. Huffman, 'The Iron Age of the Buhwa district'. Gumanye was formerly known to us only from the single date site at Zimbabwe, and was then known as 'Lower Zimbabwe', Garlake, *Great Zimbabwe*, 105.
31. Huffman, 'A guide to the Iron Age of Mashonaland', 29-32, 40.
32. Pers. commun. from Mr Paul Sinclair, on his excavations at Montevideo Ranch.
33. Phillipson, 'Iron Age . . . in Zambia', 14.
34. Huffman, 'The orgins of Leopard's Kopje', 41-2.
35. Gomes, 'Viagem' (1648), 197; 'Descripçaõ Corografica do Reino de Manhica, seus custumes e leis' [*c.*1780], Arq[uivo] Hist[órico] Ultramar[ino], Moç[ambique], Caixa 17; Fortune, '75 years', 56.
36. Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics*, 33.
37. D.N. Beach, 'The Shona economy: Branches of production', in R.H. Palmer and Q.N. Parsons (eds), *The Roots of Rural Poverty in South Central Africa* (London, Heinemann, 1977), 37-65; J.M. MacKenzie, 'A pre-colonial industry: The Njanja and the iron trade', *NADA* (1975), XI, ii, 200-20.
38. Huffman, 'Test, excavations at Makuru', 7-8; for a similar use of shell beads even by an apparently well-off person, in a specialized trading environment, see P.S. Garlake, 'Excavations at the seventeenth-century Portuguese site of Dambarare, Rhodesia', *Proc[eedings and] Trans[actions of the] Rhod[esia] Sci[entific] Assoc[iation]* (1969), LIV, 43.

39. H.N. Chittick, 'The coast of East Africa', in P.L. Shinnie (ed.), *The African Iron Age* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1971), 109-10; B.A. Datoo, 'Rhapta: The location and importance of East Africa's first port', *Azania* (1970), V, 65-75.
40. H.N. Chittick, 'Discoveries in the Lamu Archipelago', *Azania* (1967), II, 40-55; the literature on the archaeology and history, both documentary and traditional, of the East African coast is immense, e.g. H.N. Chittick, *Kilwa: An Islamic Trading City on the East African Coast* (Nairobi, British Institute in Eastern Africa, Memoir No. 5, 2 vols, 1974); on the various kinds of Muslims — *mouros* to the Portuguese — see Alvaro Velho, 'Account of the voyage of Vasco da Gama' (1497-8), *Documents*, I, 19-27; Alcaçova to the King, 20 Nov. 1506, *Documents*, I, 391-9; Valentim Fernandes, 'Manuscript' (22 May 1506), *Documents*, I, 529; [Duarte Barbosa, according to *Records*, I, 85], 'Description of the situation, customs and products of some places of Africa' [*c.*1518], *Documents*, V, 357-9.
41. Al-Mas'udi, 'Maruj al-Dhahab wa Ma'adin al Jawhar, *c.*915-945', in *The East African Coast*, ed. G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1962), 14-17.
42. R. Summers, *Ancient Mining in Rhodesia* (Salisbury, National Museums of Rhodesia, Memoir No. 3, 1969); T.N. Huffman, 'Ancient mining and Zimbabwe', *Journal of the South African Institute of Mining & Metallurgy* (1974), LXXIV, 238-42; I.R. Phimister, 'Alluvial gold mining and trade in nineteenth-century South Central Africa', *J. Afr. Hist.* (1974), XV, 445-56; I.R. Phimister, 'Precolonial goldmining in Southern Zambezia: A re-assessment', *African Social Research* (1976), [III], xxi, 1-30; W.G.L. Randles, *L'Empire du Monomotapa du XV^e au XIX^e siècle* (Paris, Mouton, 1975), 113-14; Beach, 'The Shona economy'; 'Descripção Corográfica' [*c.*1780], Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Caixa 17.
43. Beach, 'The Shona economy'.
44. Summers, *Ancient Mining*, 212-13.
45. A.F. Isaacman, 'The origin, formation and early history of the Chikunda of South Central Africa', *J. Afr. Hist.* (1972), XIII, 449; E.A. Alpers, *Ivory & Slaves in East Central Africa* (London, Heinemann, 1975), 152.
46. See above, reference 42.
47. Beach, 'The Shona economy'.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.; I.R. Phimister, 'Meat and monopolies: Beef cattle in Rhodesia, 1890-1938' *J. Afr. Hist.* (1978), XIX, 391-414.
50. Huffman, *The Leopard's Kopje Tradition*, 63; Garlake, *Great Zimbabwe*, 102, 122-3; Fagan, 'The Greefswald Sequence', 346.
51. Santos, Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 212; Gomes, 'Viagem' (1648), 207-8.
52. Beach, 'The Shona economy'.
53. Ibid.
54. T.N. Huffman, 'Cloth from the Iron Age in Rhodesia', *Arnoldia* (1971), V, xiv, 1-19; Axelson, *Portuguese . . . 1488-1600*, 32, 46, 51, 71, 78, 84, 87 and *passim*.
55. Huffman, 'Cloth', 6-8; Gaspar Veloso, 'Notes' (1512), *Documents*, III, 185; Barbosa, 'Description' [*c.*1518], *Documents*, V, 359; Francisco de Monclaro, 'Narrative . . . of the expedition to the Monomotapa, led by Francisco Barreto' [post 1573], *Documents*, VIII, 381.

56. 'Descripção Corográfica' [*c.*1780], Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Caixa 17; F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo and His Court* (Salisbury, Argus, 1923), 2.
57. J.T. Bent, *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland* (London, Longmans, Green, 1892), 70.
58. Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 207; Huffman, 'Cloth', 13.
59. Barbosa, 'Description' [*c.*1518], *Documents*, V, 359; Manuel Barreto, 'Report on the state and conquest of the Rivers of Cuama (1667), *Records*, III, 504-5.
60. Monclaro, 'Narrative' [*c.*1573], *Documents*, VIII, 380-1; *The Southern African Diaries of Thomas Leask, 1865-1870*, ed. J.P.R. Wallis (London, Chatto & Windus, 1954), 170.
61. Huffman, 'Cloth', 10-11.
62. A.F. Isaacman, *Mozambique: The Africanization of a European Institution: The Zambezi Prazos, 1750-1902* (Madison, Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1972), 66.
63. For example, salt and tobacco trades were centred on economically poorer areas, Beach, 'The Shona economy'.
64. E.A. Alpers, 'Rethinking African economic history', *Ufahamu* (1973), III, iii, 97-129.
65. Beach, 'The Shona economy'; J.M. MacKenzie, 'Furnace and bellows types in Iron Age archaeology', *Rhod. Prehist.* (1974), V, xiii, 21-2; M.R. Prendergast, 'A new furnace from the Darwendale dam basin', *Rhod. Prehist.* (1975), VII, xiv, 16-20.
66. Gomes, 'Viagem' (1648), 165; António da Silveira to the King [post 1528], *Documents*, V, 563.
67. Garlake, *Great Zimbabwe*, 115-16; the total number of 'gold' burials on or near the Plateau was very limited.
68. Alcáçova to the King, 20 Nov. 1506, *Documents*, I, 397-9.
69. Anon., 'Descripção dos Rios' (16 Mar. 1683), Bibl. da Ajuda, 51-VIII-44.
70. Alcáçova to the King, 20 Nov. 1506, *Documents*, I, 397-9.
71. Garlake, *Great Zimbabwe*, 32-49.
72. Summers, *Ancient Mining*, 37.
73. Huffman, 'Ancient mining', 240; Garlake, *Great Zimbabwe*, 159-60.
74. Summers, *Ancient Mining*, 28, 100.
75. Huffman, *The Leopard's Kopje Tradition*, 73; Garlake, *Great Zimbabwe*, 156-7; although they kept cattle, the Leopard's Kopje people were agriculturists, not pastoralists.
76. Fagan, 'The Greefswald Sequence', 335-61; Garlake, *Great Zimbabwe*, 157.
77. Beach, 'The Shona economy'.
78. e.g. Alcáçova to the King, 20 Nov. 1506, *Documents*, I, 391; Veloso, 'Notes' (1512), *Documents*, III, 181.
79. 'Instructions to Cide Barbudo (draft)' (Sept. 1505), *Documents*, I, 275; Martim Fernández de Figueroa, 'Account' (1505-11), *Documents*, III, 612. These islands retained their importance up to the beginning of the twentieth century.
80. As shown by the Mutapa's keenness to maintain direct contact with Sofala in the 1540s: João de Sepúlveda to the King, 18 Aug. 1542, *Documents*, VII, 137-9.
81. Pers. commun. from Dr T.N. Huffman.
82. P. Sinclair, 'First Steps towards the Reconstruction of the Rural Economy of the Zimbabwe State' (Roma, Lesotho, International Conference on Southern African History paper, 1977), 3.
83. I.R. Phimister, '"Ancient" mining near Great Zimbabwe', *Journal of the*

South African Institute of Mining & Metallurgy (1974), LXXIV, 233-7.

84. Garlake, *Great Zimbabwe*, 104-9; T.N. Huffman, 'The rise and fall of Zimbabwe', *J. Afr. Hist.* (1972), XIII, 354-8; for the figure of 'about 1300', see the references to radiocarbon dates below.
85. P.S. Garlake, 'Excavation of a *zimbabwe* in Mozambique', *Antiquity* (1976), L, 146-8; P.S. Garlake, 'An investigation of Manekweni, Mozambique', *Azania* (1976), xi, 25-47.
86. Garlake, *Great Zimbabwe*, 106.
87. See below, Appendix I.
88. Garlake, *Great Zimbabwe*, 183-4.
89. Ibid., 111-35.
90. D.N. Beach, 'The Mutapa dynasty: A comparison of documentary and traditional evidence', *History in Africa* (1976), III, 2-4; see also below, Chapter 7.
91. M. Posnansky, 'Archaeology, ritual and religion', in T.O. Ranger and I.N. Kimambo (eds), *The Historical Study of African Religion* (London, Heinemann, 1972), 29.
92. Figueroa, 'Account' (1505-11), *Documents*, III, 599; Veloso, 'Notes' (1512), *Documents*, III, 189; Barros, 'Asia' (1552), *Records*, VI, 269.
93. D.N. Beach, 'Great Zimbabwe as a Mwari-cult centre', *Rhod. Prehist* (1973), XI, 11-13.
94. T.N. Huffman, 'Zimbabwe: Southern Africa's first town', *Rhod. Prehist.* (1977), VII, xv, 9-14.
95. Pers. commun. from Mr Paul Sinclair.
96. Sinclair, 'First Steps towards the Reconstruction of the Rural Economy of the Zimbabwe State', 4-5.
97. P.S. Garlake, 'Rhodesian ruins — a preliminary assessment of their styles and chronology', *J. Afr. Hist.* (1970), XI, 498-501; Octávio Roza de Oliveira, *Amuralhados da Cultura Zimbáuè-Monomotapa de Manica e Sofala* (Beira, União Nacional, 1963) revised as 'Zimbáuès de Moçambique (proto-história Africana)', *Monumenta* (1973), IX, 31-65.
98. e.g. Fagan, *Southern Africa*, 126.
99. Huffman, 'Radiocarbon dates and bibliography', 55; J.B. White, 'Some notes on the history and customs of the Urungwe district', *NADA* (1971), X, iii, 34-7; Veloso, 'Notes' (1512), *Documents*, III, 185.
100. B.M. Fagan, 'Excavations at Ingombe Ilede, 1960-2', in B.M. Fagan, D.W. Phillipson and S.G.H. Daniels (eds), *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia* (London, Chatto & Windus, 2 vols, 1967), II, 57-184; D.W. Phillipson and B.M. Fagan, 'The date of the Ingombe Ilede burials', *J. Afr. Hist.* (1969), X, 199-204.
101. N. Sutherland-Harris, 'Zambian trade with Zumbo', and 'Trade and the Rozwi Mambo', in J.R. Gray and D. Birmingham (eds), *Precolonial African Trade* (London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1970), 231-42, 257; *Três Roteiros Desconhecidos de Ahmād ibn-Madjid* ed. T.A. Chumovsky (Lisbon, Comissão . . . do V Centenário . . . do Infante D. Henrique, 1960), 43-4.
102. Garlake, 'Rhodesian ruins', 498-9.
103. Garlake, *Great Zimbabwe*, 109-10.
104. Huffman, 'The rise and fall', 365, and pers. commun.; Beach, 'Great Zimbabwe as a Mwari-cult centre'.
105. Huffman, 'The rise and fall', 365.
106. Pedro Barretto de Rezende and António Bocarro, 'Of the State of India' (1634), *Records*, II, 418.

CHAPTER 2

1. Alcáçova to the King, 20 Nov. 1506, *Documents*, I, 389-99.
2. D.P. Henige, *The Chronology of Oral Tradition: Quest for a Chimera* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1974).
3. This section will be elaborated upon in the conclusion to this book, in Appendix IV, and in the companion volume, *Shona Dynastic Histories*.
4. These are not exclusive definitions of the terms.
5. D.P. Abraham, 'The roles of "Chaminuka" and the *mhondoro*-cults in Shona political history', in E. Stokes and R. Brown (eds), *The Zambesian Past* (Manchester, Manchester Univ. Press, 1966), 44-6.
6. G.K. Garbett, 'Religious aspects of political succession among the valley Korekore (N. Shona)', ibid., 148-9, and 'Disparate regional cults and a unitary field in Zimbabwe', in R.P. Werbner (ed.), *Regional Cults* (London, Academic Press, 1977), 55-91.
7. See, in this connection, the long list of major northern Shona rulers said by Mutota's *mhondoro*-medium to be related to or descended from Mutota in D.P. Abraham, 'The Monomotapa dynasty', *NADA* (1959) XXXVI, 61-2.
8. H.C.K. Fynn, N[ative] C[ommissioner] Mazoe to C[hief] N[ative] C[ommissioner], *c.* 1 Jan. 1904, National Archives of Rhodesia, Salisbury, N/3/33/8; unless otherwise stated, all archival references are to this Archives; on the process of acquiring traditional historical information by the method described above, see L. Vambe, *An Ill-fated People* (London, Heinemann, 1972) 22-4. Vambe's account of the Shawasha, with its blend of traditional and published sources, is an excellent example of the virtues and limitations of Shona traditions: his omission of a major civil war within his own family is a case in point.
9. See reference in Chapter 7.
10. António Bocarro, 'Decade . . . of the performances of the Portuguese in the East' [*c.*1631-49], *Records*, III, 361, refers to Marave peoples crossing the Zambezi to settle in the Mutapa state, and White, 'Some notes on the history and customs of the Urungwe District', 41, refers to Soli settlement south of the river, but such references are rare; for generalized traditions of trans-Zambezi origins of the Shona in the 1900s, see J.W. Posselt, N.C. Charter, to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; A.D. Campbell, N.C. Salisbury, to C.N.C., 29 Jan. 1896, N/1/1/9.
11. Thus the Ngowa *dziva* dynasty of the modern Shabani district claims to have travelled past Rutanga hill but its members often do not know where it is. In fact it is in Buhera, and there is still a Nerutanga *dziva* dynasty there which remembered its links with the Ngowa, J.D. White, 'Esitshebeni' (Shabani, unpubl. Mss, 1974), 111 and J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8.
12. Thus the Nambiya traditionally reached the lower Deka river area by going round the western sandveld.
13. S.I. Mudenge, review of S. Samkange, *Origins of Rhodesia* (London, Heinemann, 1968), in *Pfumo* (1971), 10.
14. The myth claims that in the course of a migration the founder of the Zvimba dynasty stopped on the way and settled because he had a sore leg (*pano apa pangu pamakumbo pazvimba*); but the direction of this migration depends upon who is telling the story, for Chivero's people to the south make it come from the north — and hence locate 'Guruuswa' in the north, while Chitsungo's *nzou* people do the reverse, Univ[ersity of] Rhod[esia] Hist[ory]

Dep[artment] Texts 58 Hty, and N.C. Sipolilo to H. von Sicard, 26 Nov. 1957, Min[istry of] Intern[al] Aff[air]s, [Salisbury], Per/5 Chitsungo *nzou*.

15. Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Texts 84 Bha, 106 Rse.
16. Ibid., Text 83 Bha; White, 'Some notes on the history and customs of the Urungwe District', 37; Min. Intern. Affs, Delin[eation] Rep[ort], Sipolilo, 1965; Reports on Spirit mediums, Nyamandoro, Chimbwerere and Bepura; D.P. Abraham, 'The principality of Maungwe', *NADA* (1951), XXVIII, 58-9; T.B. Hulley, N.C. Umtali, to C.N.C., 19 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; the last two references show how the current ruling groups claim that their predecessors did not know fire, though the archaeological record shows that in fact these predecessors were members of the Zimbabwe culture; for other such examples in African history, see J.K. Rennie, 'The precolonial kingdom of Rwanda: A reinterpretation', *Transafrican Journal of History* (1972), II, ii, 18; S.J. Ntara, *The History of the Chewa* (Wiesbaden, Steiner, 1973), 1-3; Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 3.
17. For some of these genealogies, see Beach, *Shona Dynastic Histories*.
18. For the generational dating system employed, see Appendix IV.
19. Alcáçova to the King, 20 Nov. 1506, *Documents*, I, 391; Andre Fernandes to the Father Provincial, 24 June 1560, *Documents*, VII, 471; Goncalo da Silveira to the Jesuits in Goa, 9 Aug. 1560, *Documents* VII, 503-5; Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 206.
20. Garlake, *Great Zimbabwe*, 174-81 and E. Alpers, 'The Mutapa and Malawi political systems to the time of the Nguni invasions', in T.O. Ranger (ed.), *Aspects of Central African History* (London, Heinemann, 1968), 9-11, based upon Abraham, 'The Monomotapa dynasty' and D.P. Abraham, 'The early political history of the kingdom of Mwene Mutapa, 850-1589', in *Historians in Tropical Africa: Proceedings of the Leverhulme Inter-collegiate History Conference* (Salisbury, Univ. Coll. of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 1962), 61-90; for the historiography of these, see D.N. Beach, 'The historiography of the people of Zimbabwe in the 1960s', *Rhod[esian] Hist[ory]* (1973), IV, 21-30.
21. Beach, 'The Mutapa dynasty'.
22. Ibid.; M.F.C. Bourdillon, 'Some Aspects of the Religion of the Eastern Korekore' (Oxford Univ., unpubl. D. Phil. thesis, 1972), 15; Abraham, 'The Monomotapa dynasty', 60; M.E. Hayes, 'The Wanyombgwe', *NADA* (1953), XX, 21; D.M. Coley, 'The fate of the last Bashankwe chief', *NADA* (1927), V, 65; R.R. Tapson, 'Some notes on the Mrozwi occupation of the Sebungwe District', *NADA* (1944), XXI, 29; D.K. Parkinson, 'The Vashangwe of Chief Chireya: Gokwe', *NADA* (1969), X, i, 20; Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep., Texts 92-6 Gta.
23. For example, the older Gwenzi-Chivero dynasty of the 'Guruuswa' group has long since lost primacy on the middle Umfuli to Mashayamombe dynasty from 'Dzete' but the latter has not altered its point of origin.
24. Monclaro, 'Narrative' [*c.*1573], *Documents*, VIII, 401.
25. Ignacio Caetano Xavier, 'Notícias dos Dominos Portuguezes na Costa de Africa Oriental' (1758); A.A. Andrade (ed.), *Relações de Moçambique Setecentista* (Lisbon, Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1955), 164; see also the hostility of the Dima to the Mutapa in 1614, Bocarro, 'Decade' [*c.*1631-49], *Records*, III, 404.
26. Manuel Barretto, 'Report' (1667), *Records*, III, 482.
27. Bocarro, 'Decade' [*c.*1631-49], *Records*, III, 357, 411; W. Edwards, 'The Wanoe', *NADA* (1926), IV, 13; W. Edwards, A.N.C. Mrewa, to C.N.C., 13 Apr. 1898, N/3/33/8.

28. M.F.C. Bourdillon, 'Peoples of Darwin', *NADA* (1970), X, ii, 105-7; M.F.C. Bourdillon, 'The manipulation of myth in a Tavara chiefdom', *Africa* (1972), XLII, 113-21; J.B. Matthews, 'One account of the history of the Vatande', *NADA* (1966), IX, iii, 31-2.
29. Bourdillon, 'The manipulation of myth in a Tavara chiefdom', 113.
30. Bourdillon, 'Some Aspects of the Religion of the Eastern Korekore', 46-7.
31. Fynn to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; Bourdillon, 'Peoples of Darwin', 104.
32. Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Sipolilo, 1965: Chisunga.
33. See below, p. 118.
34. White, 'Some notes on the history and customs of the Urungwe district', 38-40.
35. Fynn to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; Hayes, 'The Wanyombgwe', 21-3; A.N.C. Darwin to C.N.C., 14 Mar. 1929, Min. Intern. Affs, Per/5 Dotito; Abraham, 'The Monomotapa dynasty', 64.
36. Bourdillon, 'The manipulation of myth in a Tavara Chiefdom', 112-21; Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Darwin, 1964: Dotito.
37. Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Mrewa, 1965: Nyajina.
38. Bourdillon, 'Peoples of Darwin', 106-7; C.J.K. Latham, 'Some notes on the tribes in the Mount Darwin, Rushinga and Centenary Districts', *NADA* (1975), XI, ii, 180; Bourdillon, 'Some Aspects of the Religion of the Eastern Korekore', 22.
39. A.D. Campbell to C.N.C., 29 Jan. 1896, N/1/1/9; E. Morris, N.C. Marandellas, to C.N.C., 1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; Edwards, 'The Wanoe', 18; N.C. Mrewa to C.N.C., 27 Mar. 1944, Min. Intern. Affs, Per/5 Chitsungo *nhari*.
40. Albino Manoel Pacheco, *Uma Viagem de Tete ao Zumbo* (Moçambique, Imprensa Nacional, 1883), 24; Abraham, 'The Monomotapa dynasty', 65.
41. Pacheco, *Uma Viagem*, 24; Abraham, 'The Monomotapa dynasty', 64-5.
42. See below, Chapter 5.
43. A.N.C.'s memo., 14 Nov. 1933, Min. Intern. Affs, Per/5 Bushu.
44. Abraham, 'The Monomotapa dynasty', 61.
45. D[istrict] C[ommissioner] Darwin to P[rovincial] C[ommissioner] Mashonaland Central, 19 Apr. 1975, Min. Intern. Affs, Per/5 Kandeya; Fynn to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8.
46. Bourdillon, 'Some Aspects of the Religion of the Eastern Korekore', 23-4; N.C. Mrewa to C.N.C., 27 Mar. 1944, Min. Intern. Affs, Per/5 Chitsungo *nhari*; Barretto de Rezende and Bocarro, 'State of India' (1634), *Records*, II, 416; Bocarro, 'Decade' [*c.*1631-49], *Records*, III, 356-7.
47. Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Mazoe, 1965-7: Nyachuru.
48. Abraham, 'The Monomotapa dynasty', 62; Abraham, 'The early political history', 63; J.B. Matthews, 'The mhondoro of Mutota and his village', *NADA* (1960), XXXVII, 70.
49. Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Sipolilo, 1965: Spirit mediums, Nyamandoro, Chitsungo.
50. Bocarro, 'Decade' [*c.*1631-49], *Records*, III, 356; Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep. Sipolilo, 1965: spirit mediums.
51. Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Sipolilo, 1965: Bepura.
52. Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Text 58 Hty; Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Lomagundi, 1965: Chirau.
53. Abraham, 'The Monomotapa dynasty', 62.
54. Tapson, 'Some notes on the Mrozwi occupation of the Sebungwe District', 29.
55. Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Lomagundi, 1965: Zvimba.

56. Ibid., Nemakonde; Tapson, 'Some notes on the Mrozwi occupation of the Sebungwe District', 29; White, 'Some notes on the history and customs of the Urungwe District', 54-7; Abraham, 'The Monomotapa dynasty', 61; 'Chinyandura' [pseud. J.R. Duncan], 'The Sinoia caves — a historiette', *NADA* (1931), IX, 67.
57. Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Lomagundi, 1965: Zvimba and Chirau; Tapson, 'Some notes on the Mrozwi occupation of the Sebungwe', 29; Bocarro, 'Decade' [*c.*1631-49], *Records*, III, 356.
58. C. Bullock, *The Mashona* (Cape Town, Juta, 1927), 48-9, 127-8; Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Hartley, 1964: Chivero; Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Text 58 Hty; Izidoro Correia Pereira, 'Mappa das minas conhecidas no distrito de Senna' (30 July 1857), *Memória e Documentos [acerca dos Direitos de Portugal aos Territorios de Machona e Nyassa 1890]* (Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1890), 296.
59. Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Gatooma, 1964-8: Neuso; Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Texts 92-96a Gta.
60. Coley, 'The fate of the last Bashankwe chief', 65-6; Tapson, 'Some notes on the Mrozwi occupation of the Sebungwe District', 29-31; Parkinson, 'The Vashangwe of Chief Chireya', 20-1; W.E. Farrer, N.C. Sebungwe, to C.N.C., 21 Feb. 1960, A/3/18/28; H.N. Hemans, 'History of the Abenanzwa tribe', *Proc. Trans Rhod. Sci. Assoc.* (1912-13), XII, 88-9.
61. White, 'Some notes on the history and customs of the Urungwe district', *passim*.
62. Pereira, 'Mappa' (1857), 296.
63. Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Texts 46, 48 Ctr, 79-81 Bha.
64. Ibid., Texts 78, 83, 84, 86a Bha.
65. Ibid., Texts 77-9, 86a Bha; J.C. Barnes, 'Gombe: A study of a wall', *Zuro* (1973), [V], 28-9.
66. Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Texts 48 Ctr, 81 Bha; C.J.K. Latham, 'Memorandum over the Chamutsa/Nyashanu dispute' (1969) and D.C. Buhera to P.C. Manicaland, 18 May 1971, Min. Intern. Affs, Per/5 Nyashanu. Some of the groups claimed by the Hera to be Mbiru's descendants are Hera, some are other *shava* and others are not even *shava*.
67. Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Texts 79, 82, 84, 86 Bha; Latham, 'Memorandum' (1969), Min. Intern. Affs, Per/5 Nyashanu. Not all of these give the *mhiri kwe gungwa* version, some simply mention a journey from the northern half of the plateau.
68. H. von Sicard, 'Shaka and the north', *African Studies* (1955), XIV, 151; Sr Mary Aquina, 'The tribes of Victoria Reserve', *NADA* (1965), IX, ii, 6; Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Texts 48, 51 Ctr; Sicard's claim was based upon a totally erroneous identification of the Hera with the Lemba of Buhera complicated by his own diffusionist bias; the Hera claim to be of Zulu origin is apparently only found among some of the Masarirambi-Mutekedza branch, is contradicted by other information in the same texts, and is possibly based on a desire to claim prestige origins in the south.
69. J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; Latham, 'Memorandum' (1969), Min. Intern. Affs, Per/5 Nyashanu; Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Texts 80-1, 83 Bha.
70. J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Texts 46 Ctr, 79 Bha.

71. J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8.
72. Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Texts 78-9, 83 Bha; Latham, 'Memorandum' (1969), Min. Intern. Affs, Per/5 Nyashanu; Barnes, 'Gombe', 28-9; some versions claim that Mbiru sought refuge from wild animals, or was trapped when ladders were destroyed. Some versions confuse this with the period of Ndebele raids long after the Hera had left Gombe, but all agree that Mbiru died there.
73. J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8.
74. See below, Chapters 4 and 5 on the Mutapa, Karuva and Budya dynasties.
75. Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Texts 85-6, 80 Bha; Latham, 'Memorandum' (1969), Min. Intern. Affs, Per/5 Nyashanu.
76. J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8.
77. N.C. Umtali to P[rovincial] N[ative] C[ommissioner] Umtali, 30 May 1949 and N.C. Umtali to P.N.C. Manicaland, 10 Mar. 1954, Min. Intern. Affs, Per/5 Marange.
78. N.C. Umtali to P.N.C. Manicaland, 10 Apr. 1954, ibid.
79. For a reputed move from Buhera to Bocha, see Hulley to C.N.C. 19 Jan. 1904, and Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Text 81 Bha. This probably derives from the confusion between the Mutekwatekwa of Buhera and Bocha. Other such names in common include Betera and Murwira. A rival version favoured by a Nyashanu *svikiro* suggests a Bocha origin for the Hera, pers. commun. from Mr A.S. Chigwedere.
80. Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Text 71 Uti.
81. Macedo, 'Informação' (21 July 1633), Goa Arch., Livros das Monções, XLI.
82. Ngoni Job Maruta, 'The Coming of the Mbire Clan into Southern Mashonaland' (unpubl. paper, 1973). It is possible that Mr Maruta confused the Rozvi Gunguwo with a *shava* Hera Gunguwo mentioned as ruling Wedza by Mr Magwaza Gotora, an informant interviewed by both of us (Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Text 105 Wza).
83. Calculated from the death of Chihota Chikuba Savanhu in 1925; Morris to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; F.W.T. Posselt, 'The Banyemba legend and ceremony', *NADA* (1924), II, 11.
84. R.C. Nesbitt, N.C. Salisbury, to C.N.C. Salisbury, *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8.
85. Ibid.; Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Goromonzi, 1965: Chikwaka; ibid., Hartley, 1964, Gora; White, 'Some notes on the history and customs of the Urungwe district', 48-9; A.S. Chigwedere, 'The Shona Resurgence' (unpubl. paper, 1970).
86. J. Chidziwa, 'History of the Vashawasha', *NADA* (1964), IX, i, 18; J.H. Seed, 'A glimpse of Native History', *NADA* (1936–7), XIV, 10; the dates are calculated from the deaths of Chinamhora and go on to Chingoma in *c.*1888, Chinamhora Shambare in 1916, Chinamhora Chigodora in 1930 and Chinamhora Chigwedere in 1907. The different dates come from differences between genealogies.
87. S.H. Fynes-Clinton, 'The history of the Msana Chieftainship', *NADA* (1972), X, iv, 60-1; White, 'Some notes on the history and customs of the Urungwe district', 46; António da Conceição, 'Tratado dos Rios de Cuama' (1696), *Chronista*, 66.
88. Nesbitt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; Min. Intern. Affs. Delin. Rep., Hartley, 1964: Nyamweda. The dynasty can be traced back from the deaths of Nyamweda Mashanda in 1901 and Nyamweda Mugonderwa in *c.*1926 to Mapesu, who died in *1514 ± 52, but it is not certain when the actual move occurred.

89. Edwards to C.N.C. Salisbury, 13 Apr. 1898, N/3/33/8; Edwards, 'The Wanoe', 13; D. Chanaiwa, 'A History of the Nhowe before 1900' (Univ. of California, Los Angeles, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, 1971), 113-17.
90. Chanaiwa, 'A History of the Nhowe', 117-18; Edwards, 'The Wanoe', 13.
91. D.P. Abraham, 'Historical sketch of Tsokoto area, Mangwende reserve, Mrewa', 31 Jan. 1962, Min. Intern. Affs, Per/5 Mangwende.
92. Edwards to C.N.C., 13 Apr. 1898, N/3/33/8.
93. Morris to C.N.C. 1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; Min. Intern. Affs, Delin, Rep., Marandellas, 1964: Samuriwo; Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Text 104 Mds; 'Tradition', 1972, Min. Intern. Affs, Per/5 Samuriwo. Traditions locate 'Zomba' or 'Zumba' in *tanganyika*, the beginning country, which many modern Samuriwo informants believe to be Tanzania. However, their close links with the Nyandoro dynasty and the Mrewa area seem to indicate the Uzumba area as their place of origin.
94. J. Sawanhu, 'The Waharawa history', *NADA* (1925), III, 59; Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Texts 98-102 Gzi; U/Sec. Ad. to P.N.C. Mashonaland West, 12 Oct. 1959 and minute from D.P. Abraham, 18 Oct. 1962, Min. Intern. Affs, Per/5 Nyavira; C. Gwati, 'Native history of Salisbury', *NADA* (1939), XVI, 17; E.P. Meaker, 'Hwata Chieftainship' [late 1940s], Min. Intern. Affs, Per/5 Hwata; V. Meredith, 'Protected villages in Chiweshe' (1974), Min. Intern. Affs, His/3/1.
95. Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Hartley, 1964: Nherera.
96. Ibid., Gatooma, 1965-6: Mushava; Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Text 64 Gta.
97. Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Hartley, 1964: Rwizi.
98. P.S. Garlake, *The Ruins of Zimbabwe* (Lusaka, Neczam, Historical Association of Zambia Pamphlet No. 4, 1974), 29-30.
99. P.S. Garlake, 'Excavations at the Nhunguza and Ruanga ruins in northern Mashonaland', *South Afr. Archaeol. Bull.* (1972-3), XXVII, 107-43; S. Rudd, 'Preliminary report of excavations, 1963-66, at Lekkerwater Ruins, Tsindi Hill, Theydon, Rhodesia', *Proc. Trans Rhod. Sci. Assoc.* (1968), LII, ii, 38-50; Garlake, *Great Zimbabwe*, 162-5.
100. Garlake, *Great Zimbabwe*, 164-5, 196-7; Garlake, *The Ruins*, 21-3.
101. Garlake, 'Excavations at the Nhunguza and Ruanga Ruins', 110.
102. Veloso, 'Notes' (1512), *Documents*, III, 183; Alcáçova to the King, 20 Nov. 1506, *Documents*, I, 391, 395; Barbosa, 'Description'. [*c.*1518], *Documents*, V, 359-61.
103. Garlake, 'Excavation of a *zimbabwe* in Mozambique', 146-8; André Fernandes to the Father Provincial 24 June 1560, *Documents*, VII, 471.
104. See above, reference 65.
105. Veloso, 'Notes' (1512), *Documents*, III, 183, recorded that this building was in 'Embire'. This could be Mbire I or the Dande, or Mbire II or Gore in the upper Ruya valley, but not Mbire III in the central Plateau — which in any case has no such buildings — because this last area was only settled by Mbire people from Mbire II in the eighteenth century.
106. Alcáçova to the King, 20 Nov. 1506, *Documents*, I, 391; Veloso, 'Notes' (1512), *Documents*, III, 181-9.
107. Barbosa, 'Description' [*c.*1518], *Documents*, V, 361.
108. Ibn-Madjid, *Três Roteiros*, 45.
109. Pers. commun. from Dr T.N. Huffman.

1. Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 290.
2. J. Vansina, *The Tio Kingdom of the Middle Congo, 1880-1892* (London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1973).
3. Barros, 'Asia' (1552), *Records*, VI, 271; Monclaro, 'Narrative' [post 1573], *Documents*, VIII, 361; Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 209.
4. Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 208.
5. Alcáçova to the King, 20 Nov. 1506, *Documents*, I, 397.
6. Barros, 'Asia' (1552), *Records*, VI, 269.
7. António Carneiro, 'Record of the enquiry made by command of the Governor Francisco Barreto' (1 May 1573), *Documents*, VIII, 233-43; Monclaro, 'Narrative' [post 1573], *Documents*, VIII, 383; Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 212; Gomes, 'Viagem' (1648), 189; Francisco de Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado a Jesu Christo pelos Padres da Companhia de Jesus da Provincia de Goa* (Lisbon, V. da Costa Deslandes, 2 parts, 1710), I, 844.
8. M.F.C. Bourdillon, *The Shona Peoples* (Gwelo, Mambo Press, 1976), 52-68.
9. Monclaro, 'Narrative' [post 1573], *Documents*, VIII, 383.
10. Carneiro, 'Record' (1573), *Documents*, VIII, 233-43; Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 212; Gomes, 'Viagem' (1648), 207-8.
11. Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 212.
12. Carneiro, 'Record' (1573), *Documents*, VIII, 233-43; Monclaro, 'Narrative' [post 1573], *Documents*, VIII, 383.
13. Barros, 'Asia' (1552), *Records*, VI, 269.
14. Gomes, 'Viagem' (1648), 208.
15. M.A. Hamutyinei and A.B. Plangger (eds), *Tsumo-shumo, Shona Proverbial Lore and Wisdom* (Gwelo, Mambo Press, 1974), 237.
16. Carneiro, 'Record' (1573), *Documents*, VIII, 233-43; Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 212; Gomes, 'Viagem' (1648), 208.
17. Barros, 'Asia' (1552), *Records*, VI, 270; Barbosa, 'Description' [*c.*1518], *Documents*, V, 361.
18. André Fernandes to Luis Frois, 25 June 1560, *Documents*, VII, 485.
19. Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 207.
20. Gomes, 'Viagem' (1648), 165.
21. António da Silveira to the King [post 1547], *Documents*, VII, 169-71.
22. João Velho to the King [post 1547], *Documents, VII*, 169-71.
23. e.g. Monclaro, 'Narrative' [post 1573], *Documents*, VIII, 383.
24. Gomes, 'Viagem' (1648), 170.
25. Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 209.
26. Vasco Fernandes Homem to Luis da Silva, 15 Sept. 1576, *Documents*, VIII, 459; Julião João da Silva, 'Memória sobre a doação do Territorio Bandire as epocas do seu abandono' (5 Aug. 1831), Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Maço 21; Diogo de Couto, 'Decade of Asia' [pre 1616], *Records*, VI, 406; Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 251-2.
27. Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 186, 207-8.
28. Summers, *Ancient Mining*, 21-6.
29. 'Descripção Corográfica' [*c.*1780], Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Caixa 17.
30. André Fernandes to Father Provincial, 24 June 1560, *Documents*, VII, 469.
31. Veloso, 'Notes' (1512), *Documents*, III, 189; Barros, 'Asia' (1552), *Records*, VI, 269; Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 196, 199-200, 202-3, 210;

Bocarro, 'Decade' [*c.*1631-49], *Records*, III, 359, 378; Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, 843.
32. Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 197-8.
33. Barros, 'Asia' (1552), *Records*, VI, 269; Caiado to a friend, 1561, *Documents*, VIII, 3-7.
34. Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 204-5; Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, 843.
35. As in contemporary public punishment in Europe.
36. Gomes, 'Viagem' (1648), 168-9, 211.
37. Monclaro, 'Narrative' [post 1573], *Documents*, VIII, 385-9.
38. Carneiro, 'Record' (1573), *Documents*, VIII, 233-43.
39. Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 201; Caiado to a friend, 1561, *Documents*, VIII, 3-7.
40. Monclaro, 'Narrative' [post 1573], *Documents*, VIII, 377.
41. Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, 843.
42. 'Descripção Corográfica' [*c.*1780], Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Caixa 17.
43. Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 194.
44. Pereira, 'Mappa' (1857), *Memória e Documentos*, 296; Randles, *L'Empire du Monomotapa*, 85.
45. *Garlake*, 'Excavations at the Nhunguza and Ruanga Ruins', 113-15, and *The Ruins*, 21-3; Alcáçova to the King, 20 Nov. 1506, *Documents*, I, 395; Veloso, 'Notes' (1512), *Documents*, III, 183; Bocarro, 'Decade' [*c.*1613-49], *Records*, III, 356-7.
46. Barros, 'Asia' (1552), *Records*, VI, 271; K.R. Robinson, 'A note on Iron Age sites in the Zambezi valley, and on the escarpment in the Sipolilo District, Southern Rhodesia', *Arnoldia*, (1965), I, xxvii, 1-3; M. Leijer, A.N.C. Mazoe, to C.N.C., 28 June 1897, LO/5/4/5; R. Summers, *Ancient Ruins and Vanished Civilizations of Southern Africa* (Cape Town, Bulpin, 1971), 38.
47. Homem to Luis da Silva, 15 Sept. 1576, *Documents*, VIII, 457.
48. Alcáçova to the King, 20 Nov. 1506, *Documents*, I, 391.
49. Barbosa, 'Description' [*c.*1518], *Documents*, V, 361; Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 208.
50. Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, 837; Bocarro, 'Decade' [*c.*1631-49], *Records*, III, 358.
52. Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 191; Bocarro, 'Decade' [*c.*1631-49], *Records*, III, 358.
53. Pacheco, *Uma Viagem*, 23-4; Abraham, 'The Monomotapa dynasty', 65.
54. Monclaro, 'Narrative' [post 1573], *Documents*, VIII, 417; Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 225, 271.
55. Bocarro, 'Decade' [*c.*1631-49], *Records*, III, 358.
56. Ibid.; Morris to C.N.C. *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; Acting N.C. Darwin to C.N.C., 22 Mar. and 8 Apr. 1932, N.C. Darwin to C.N.C., 28 Sept. 1938, Acting N.C. Darwin to P.N.C. Mashonaland East, 28 Sept. 1960, Min. Intern. Affs, Per/5 Nyamaropa; D.C. Shamva to P.C. Mashonaland North, 3 Apr. 1967, ibid., Per/5 Madziwa.
57. Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 194.
58. F.W.T. Posselt, 'The Banyemba', 11; Bullock, *The Mashona*, 40; the Manyika civil wars of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries probably gave rise to this idea.
59. Monclaro, 'Narrative' [post 1573], *Documents*, VIII, 383; Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 191-2.

60. Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 193-4.
61. Barbosa, 'Description' [*c.*1518], *Documents*, V, 359.
62. Ibid.; Barros, 'Asia' (1552), *Records*, VI, 270; André Fernandes to Luis Frois, 25 June 1560, *Documents*, VII, 485-7; Monclaro, 'Narrative' [post 1573], *Documents*, VIII, 381; Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 206-7; Gomes, 'Viagem' (1648), 208-9; Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, 837.
63. Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental', (1609), *Records*, VII, 195-6.
64. Barros, 'Asia' (1552), *Records*, VI, 271; Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, 837; Conceição, 'Tratado' (1696), *Chronista*, 66.
65. Barros, 'Asia' (1552), *Records*, VI, 271; Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 222. Conceição, 'Tratado' (1696), *Chronista*, 66.
66. Alcáçova to the King, 20 Nov. 1506, *Documents*, I, 393; Francisco de Brito to the King, 8 Aug. 1519, *Documents*, VI, 11-13; André Fernandes to the Father Provincial, 24 June 1560, *Documents*, VII, 467-9; Gomes, 'Viagem' (1648), 189, 197; Conceição, 'Tratado' (1696), 105.
67. J. Ford, *The Role of the Trypanosomiases in African Ecology: A Study of the Tsetse Fly Problem* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1971), 327.
68. Monclaro, 'Narrative' [post 1573], *Documents*, VIII, 371.
69. Alcáçova to the King, 20 Nov. 1506, *Documents*, I, 391-3; Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 280-1; Gomes 'Viagem' (1648), 159, 187.
70. Monclaro, 'Narrative' [post 1573], *Documents*, VIII, 391; Gomes, 'Viagem' (1648), 193; 'Descripção Corográfica' (*c.*1780], Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Caixa 17.
71. Veloso, 'Notes' (1512), *Documents*, III, 183.
72. Barros, 'Asia' (1552), *Records*, VI, 271.
73. Monclaro, 'Narrative', [post 1573], *Documents*, VIII, 391.
74. Gomes, 'Viagem' (1648), 187.
75. Monclaro, 'Narrative' [post 1573], *Documents*, VIII, 391; Gomes, 'Viagem' (1648), 187.
76. 'Descripção Corográfica' [*c.*1780], Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Caixa 17.
77. Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 285-7; Vertua, however, noted that Mutapa Gatsi Rusere was holding a 'labourer's instrument' in 1620, Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, 837.
78. Barbosa, 'Description' [*c.*1518], *Documents*, V, 361.
79. Barros, 'Asia' (1552), *Records*, VI, 270; Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, 837.
80. Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 195; Gomes, 'Viagem' (1648), 239.
81. R. Oliver and B.M. Fagan, *Africa in the Iron Age, c.500* B.C. *to* A.D. *1400*, (Cambridge, Univ. Press, 1975), 208.
82. Barbosa, 'Description' [*c.*1518], *Documents*, V, 361.
83. Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 192.
84. Ibid., 287-8.
85. Barros, 'Asia' (1552), *Records*, VI, 271-2.
86. Couto, 'Asia' [pre 1616], *Documents*, VIII, 281; Barros, 'Asia' (1552), *Records*, VI, 270.
87. Oliver and Fagan, *Africa in the Iron Age*, 69, 208.
88. Carneiro, 'Record' (1573), *Documents*, VIII, 233-43; Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 190.
89. Gonçalo da Silveira, for example, thought that the similarities between the Shona and Christian religious would aid conversion; Gonçalo da Silveira to Jesuits in Goa, 9 Aug. 1560, *Documents*, VII, 503-5.

90. Figueroa, 'Account' (1505-11), *Documents*, III, 599; Veloso, 'Notes' (1512), *Documents*, III, 189.
91. Barros, 'Asia' (1552), *Records*, VI, 269; Gonçalo da Silveira to Jesuits in Goa, 9 Aug. 1560, *Documents*, VII, 503; Carneiro, 'Record' (1573), *Documents*, VIII, 243; Monclaro, 'Narrative' [post 1573], *Documents*, VIII, 383; Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 197-201; Bocarro, 'Decade' [*c.*1631-49], *Records*, III, 358-9; Gomes, 'Viagem' (1648), 189; Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, 843.
92. Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, III, 359.
93. Ibid., 201; Bocarro, 'Decade' [*c.*1631-49], *Records, III*, 359.
94. Bocarro, 'Decade' [*c.*1631-49], *Records*, III, 358.
95. Abraham, 'The roles of "Chaminuka" ', 28-46.
96. Bourdillon, 'The manipulation of a myth in a Tavara chiefdom', 113; Pacheco, *Uma Viagem*, 24; António Pinto de Miranda, 'Monarchia Africana', in 'Memoria sobre a costa de Africa' [*c.*1766], Andrade, *Relações*, 309; Bocarro, 'Decade' [*c.*1631-49], *Records*, III, 358.
97. Couto, 'Asia' [pre 1616], *Documents*, VIII, 283; Homem to Luis da Silva, 15 Sept. 1576, *Documents*, VIII, 461.
98. Carneiro, 'Record' (1573), *Documents*, VIII, 235.
99. Barros, 'Asia' (1552), *Records*, VI, 271; Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 201.
100. Homem to Luis da Silva, 15 Sept. 1576, *Documents*, VIII, 459; Monclaro, 'Narrative' [post 1573], *Documents*, VIII, 379; Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 275.
101. Barros, 'Asia' (1552), *Records*, VI, 272.
102. Monclaro, 'Narrative' [post 1573), *Documents*, VIII, 381.
103. Ibid.; Gomes, 'Viagem' (1648), 207.
104. Gomes, 'Viagem' (1648), 206-7.
105. Monclaro, 'Narrative' [post 1573], *Documents*, VIII, 405-11.
106. Gomes, 'Viagem' (1648), 206-7.
107. João Vaz de Almada to the King, 26 June 1516, *Documents*, IV, 287.
108. Bocarro, 'Decade' [*c.*1631-49], *Records*, III, 364.
109. Barbosa, 'Description' [*c.*1518], *Documents*, V, 361-3; Almada to the King, 26 June 1516, *Documents*, IV, 285, 291; Bocarro, 'Decade' [*c.*1631-49], *Records*, III, 360; Conceição, 'Tratado' (1696), *Chronista*, 67.
110. Bocarro, 'Decade' [*c.*1631-49], *Records*, III, 357, 361.
111. Barbosa, 'Description' [*c.*1518], *Documents*, V, 357-9.
112. e.g. Pero de Anhaia to the King's treasurers, 31 Jan. 1506, *Documents*, I, 384-5, and Luis Cacegas and Luis de Sousa, 'History of the Order of Saint Dominic in the Kingdom and Conquests of Portugal' (1767), *Records* I, 384-404.
113. W.F. Rea, *The Economics of the Zambezi Missions, 1580-1759* (Rome, Institutum Historicum S.I., No. 39, 1976), 16-43; Manamutapa to King, 28 June 1679, Arq. Hist. Ultramar, Moç., Caixa 1; Conceição, 'Tratado' (1696), 67.
114. André Fernandes to the Father Provincial, 24 June 1560, *Documents*, VII, 473; Isaacman, *Mozambique*; M.D.D. Newitt, *Portuguese Settlement on the Zambesi* (London, Longmans, 1973).
115. D.C. Chigiga, 'A Preliminary Study of the Lemba of Rhodesia' (Salisbury, Central Africa Historical Association Conference paper, 1972); informants in Bocha referred to Indians in Umtali as *mwenye*.
116. 'Letter from António de Saldanha to the King' (1511), *Documents*, III, 17; Monclaro, 'Narrative' [post 1573], *Documents*, VIII, 393; Couto, 'Asia' [pre 1616], *Documents*, VIII, 277. These calculations are derived from R.E. Gregson, 'Trade and politics in South East Africa: The Moors, the Portuguese and the Kingdom of Mwene Mutapa', *African Social Research*, (1973), [II], xvi, 419. He, however draws conflicting conclusions from the evidence.

117. E. Axelson, *Portuguese in South-East Africa 1600-1700* (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand Univ. Press, 1960), 69, 77; Andres de Vides y Albarado to King, 22 July 1633, Goa Arch., Livros das Monções, XLI, 13-14.
118. Pero de Anhaia to the King's treasurers, 13 Jan. and 19 May 1506, *Documents*, I, 37-509; Monclaro, 'Narrative' [post 1573], *Documents*, VIII, 371.
119. Isaacman, *Mozambique*; Newitt, *Portuguese Settlement*.
120. Caiado to a friend, 1561, *Documents*, VIII, 3-9; Viceroy to the King, 20 Dec. 1561, ibid., 65-7.
121. Sepúlveda to the King, 10 Aug. 1542, *Documents*, VII, 139; Monclaro, 'Narrative' [post 1573], *Documents*, VIII, 419; Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 271-2; Bocarro, 'Decade' [*c.*1631-49], *Records*, III, 354.
122. Bocarro, 'Decade' [*c.*1631-49], *Records*, III, 358.
123. Monclaro, 'Narrative' [post 1573], *Documents*, VIII, 391.
124. Barros, 'Asia' (1552), *Records*, VI, 267; Gomes, 'Viagem' (1648), *Studia*, 192.
125. Veloso, 'Notes' (1512), *Documents*, III, 183; Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 270; Couto, 'Asia' [pre 1618], *Documents*, VIII, 269-73; Bocarro, 'Decade' [*c.*1631-49], *Records*, III, 354; Barreto de Rezende and Bocarro, 'State of India' (1634), *Records*, II, 412-18; Manoel Barretto, 'Report' (1667), 468, 482-6; Conceição, 'Tratado' (1696), *Chronista*, 45, 68.
126. João Velho to the King [post 1547], *Documents*, VII, 169-71; as late as the 1580s, the Muslims acted on some occasions as intermediaries between the Teve rulers and the Portuguese, Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 221.
127. Gomes, 'Viagem' (1648), 192.
128. Barbosa, 'Description' [*c.*1518], *Documents*, V, 357; Monclaro, 'Narrative' [post 1573], *Documents*, VIII, 391-3.
129. Alcáçova to the King, 20 Nov. 1506, *Documents*, I, 397.
130. See Axelson, *Portuguese . . . 1488-1600* and *Portuguese . . . 1600-1700*, for many cases of suspected or proven extortion by Captains of Moçambique from Portuguese traders.
131. Barbosa, 'Description' [*c.*1518], *Documents*, V, 361; Barros, 'Asia' (1552), *Records*, VI, 271.
132. Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 22, 271.
133. Ibid., 272; Axelson, *Portuguese . . . 1600-1700*, 34-89.
134. Barreto de Rezende and Bocarro, 'State of India' (1634), *Records*, II, 414-5; King to Viceroy, 10 Mar. 1622, *Records*, IV, 184.
135. Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 220.
136. Ibid., 272.

CHAPTER 4

1. There has been some confusion over the name of this dynasty and its state. The second part of the long version of the name — *mutapa* means 'captor' or 'captive', from *kutapa*, to capture (see Pacheco, *Uma Viagem*, 25); the meaning 'pillager' or 'ravager' offered by the informants of Abraham in 1958 has little or no support: Abraham, 'The Monomotapa dynasty', 60. This was fairly

straightforward, but there were three possible prefixes, all authenticated: *mwana-* (child), *munhu-* (person), and *mwene-* (ruler). *Mwana-* was easily the most common version in the manuscripts, and *mwene-* the least, although Conceição claimed that the latter was correct (Conceição, 'Tratado' (1696), 68). Today, many people use *munhu-*, especially outside the old borders of the State, in the centre and south. But this appears to derive from W.A. Elliott's chapter, 'The Ma-Shuna', in D. Carnegie, *Among the Matabele* (London, Religious Tract Society, 1894), 111, popularized by such school books as *Mugabe Reader: Shumo* (Morgenster, Morgenster Mission Press, 1942), 156-60 (4,000 printed) and *History Std IV, Educational Notes* (Morgenster, Morgenster Mission Press, 1950), 15-8 (7,000+ printed). In fact the people within the old state's borders usually refer to the dynasty's rulers by their personal names, and it is possible that the Mutapa title, like that of Changamire, was used mainly by outsiders. The simplest solution to a futile but interesting wrangle would be to use the second half of the title only, Mutapa; see D.N. Beach, 'Mutapa: An alternative approach to the study of titles in Shona history: *Rhod. Hist.* (1975), VI, 97-9.

2. Bourdillon, 'Some Aspects of the Religion of the Eastern Korekore', 15-23.
3. Bocarro, 'Decade [*c.*1631-49], *Records*, III, 360.
4. Barbosa, 'Description' [*c.*1518], *Documents*, V, 359-61; Barros, 'Asia' (1552), *Records*, VI, 267; Monclaro, 'Narrative' [post 1575], *Documents*, VIII, 379; Conceiçao, 'Tratado' (1696), *Chronista*, 68.
5. Abraham, 'The Monomotapa dynasty', 61-2, and 'The early political history', 63, reference 20.
6. Abraham, 'The early political history', 63, reference 20; Bocarro, 'Decade' [*c.*1631-49], *Records*, III, 356-7; for the alignment of the Chingowe *mhondoro* medium, Matthews, 'The mhondoro of Mutota', 70.
7. Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Sipolilo, 1965: Chipuriro.
8. Gomes, 'Viagem' (1648), 205; this gives a political origin to the myth, already current in Gomes' time, that the Mutapa rulers had formerly refused to look upon the river for ritual reasons; C.J.C. Latham, 'Munhumutapa: Oral traditions', *NADA* (1972), ix, 79; for a late claim that the Mutapa had once ruled north of the Zambezi, Conceição, 'Tratado' (1696), *Chronista*, 42.
9. Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 268; Sena was occupied by the Portuguese in *c.*1540, Tete by 1560 at the latest: Gonçalo de Pinto de Araújo to the King, 15 Nov. 1545, *Documents*, VII, 151, Axelson, *Portuguese . . . 1488-1600*, 147.
10. Robinson, 'A note on Iron Age sites in the Zambezi valley', 1-12.
11. Bocarro, 'Decade' [*c.*1631-49], *Records*, III, 356; Manoel Barretto, 'Report' (1667), *Records*, III, 482.
12. Abraham, 'The Monomotapa dynasty', 60-71.
13. Veloso, 'Notes' (1512), *Documents*, III, 183, locates the capital in Mbire. This could be Mbire I or Dande in the lowlands, or Mbire II or Gore in the upper Ruya valley on the Plateau (Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Sipolilo, 1965: Spirit mediums; Fynn to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; F.W.T. Posselt, 'The Watawara and Batonga', 82). The death of Fr Gonçalo da Silveira in 1561 near the Mutapa's capital was located on the Musengezi (Caiado to a friend, 1561, *Records*, II, 104), at the source of the Musengezi and Utete rivers — they rise about thirty miles apart, but in the same range (Gaspar Soares, letter of 17 July 1611, cited in Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, 865), and the Mazoe river (Xavier, 'Notícias' (1758), Andrade, *Relações*, 171-3). Bocarro ('Decade' [*c.*1631-49], *Records*, III, 356) makes a clear distinction between the lowland territory of Bedza which contained the stone buildings and Mukaranga, the core of the state where the Mutapa had his capital. In 1628 the capital was a hurried overnight journey from Masapa, near Mount Fura or Darwin (Axelson, *Portuguese . . . 1600-1700*, 69; Fr Felipe de Assumpção ('Breve informação dos Rios de Cuama . . .' [*c.*1698], Bibl. da Ajuda, 51-VIII-40, 270-2) located the Mutapa capital 2 days' march from Masapa, 14-16 days from the Tete and 10-12 days from Chikova on the Zambezi. All this should be sufficient to show that the Mutapa capital was not normally in the lowland sites referred to above, reference 11.
14. Beach, 'The Mutapa dynasty'.
15. Matthews, 'One account of the history of the Vatande', 31-2; Abraham, 'The early political history', 68; Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Sipolilo, 1965.
16. Bourdillon, 'The manipulation of a myth in a Tavara chiefdom', 113.
17. Bocarro, 'Decade' [*c.*1631-49], *Records*, III, 356-7.
18. Miranda, 'Monarchia Africana [*c.*1766], Andrade, *Relações*, 309.
19. Pacheco, *Uma Viagem*, 24.
20. Fynn to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; Bourdillon, 'Peoples of Darwin', 104.
21. Bourdillon, 'The manipulation of a myth in a Tavara chiefdom', 114.
22. Bocarro, 'Decade' [*c.*1631-49], *Records*, III, 356-7.
23. Alcáçova to the King, 20 Nov. 1506, *Documents* I, 393; Veloso, 'Notes' (1512), 185.
24. Thus, Francisco Henriques Ferrão ('Account of the Portuguese possessions within the Captaincy of Rios de Sena' [pre 1810], *Records*, VII, 377) made the Changamire who conquered the south-west a son of a Mutapa, but 'Descripção Corográfica' [*c.*1780] Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Caixa 17, and João Julião da Silva, 'Memoria respectiva a Villa de Sofala [1836-44] (cited in Randles, *L'Empire du Monomotapa*, 18) make the same figure a son-in-law of Mutapa 'Nembire'. They cannot all be right, and there is no proof that any of them was. By the 1950s, Shona writers, encouraged by mission text-books, were beginning to associate the Rozvi with the Mutapa dynasty; see, especially, the work of M.V.J. Rukara, mentioned below, Chapter 7, footnotes. D.P. Abraham's opinions on this varied from year to year: in 1959 the 'first Changamire' was an associate of Mutota, in 1960 he was a son of Matope and in 1961 he was a son-in-law of Matope, Abraham, 'The Monomotapa dynasty', 61, 'The early political history', 64, and 'Ethnohistory of the Empire of Mutapa. Problems and methods', in J. Vansina, R. Mauny and L.V. Thomas (eds), *The Historian in Tropical Africa: Studies Presented and Discussed at the Fourth International African Seminar at the University of Dakar, Senegal, 1961* (London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1964), 108. In view of the fact that no Portuguese source between the 1680s and the 1780s mentions any relationship of blood or marriage, it is unlikely that there was one.
25. This point has been confusing historians for the last 15 years. Whereas it had been known to both the Portuguese and other writers from at least the late eighteenth century that the Changamire Rozvi had been living at the stone-built capitals of the Khami culture in the south-west before *c.*1840, no-one appears to have noticed the problem of the conflict between the archaeological evidence on the progession from the Zimbabwe culture to the Khami culture and the documentary and traditional evidence on the origins of the Changa-

mire Rozvi until the 1930s. F.W.T. Posselt, the first person to try to write Rozvi history, did not try to link the archaeology with the traditions to any great extent, but Francisque Marconnès used the point that the Rozvi only became prominent towards the end of the seventeenth century to try to disprove G. Caton-Thompson's findings that the Zimbabwe-Khami cultures were African: 'The Rozvis or 'Destroyers'', *NADA* (1933), XI, 72-90. He had nevertheless seized upon an important truth: of the people calling themselves 'Rozvi', those most closely associated with the Changamire dynasty did not originally claim to have come from Zimbabwe or to have built Khami even though some other Rozvi claimed to be associated with the buildings. This point was probably not fully appreciated by the archaeologists of the 1950s, R. Summers and K.R. Robinson, partly because it was obvious that the Changamire Rozvi *had* occupied the south-western ruins in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; partly because Robinson's Khami dig showed a cultural continuum from start to finish there; because he collected some rather generalized traditions on a 'Rozvi' presence there, and partly because Robinson and Summers were in any case assuming that Zimbabwe was still developing up to *c.*1830. The point was understood by H. von Sicard, who thought in terms of a 'Butwa-Torwa' state up to the 1690s and a Changamire Rozvi immigration from the north-east which supplanted it from then on. Von Sicard's opaque style, often tortuous reasoning and tendency to publish in obscure journals, however, led to his being more or less ignored by African historians of the 1960s, H. von Sicard, 'Reiche und Königtum der Rozvi vom ende des 17. bis zum anfang des 19. Jährhunderts', in E. Haberland, M. Schuster and H. Strauber (eds), *Festschrift fur Ad. E. Jensen* (Munich, Kraus Renner, 1964), 635-63, and 'Das Reich Butwa-Torwa', *Paideuma* (1969), XIII, 180-9. The works of D.P. Abraham, instead, caught the attention of the historians. Abraham's best-known version suggested that the Changamire revolt against the Mutapa in the 1490s led directly to the foundation of a Changamire-ruled state and culture at Khami, though a careful reading of his few texts shows a certain caution at times and a willingness to admit a 'Torwa' presence into the seventeenth century. The secondary works based on this were unchallenged until 1972, when the thesis and paper of S.I. Mudenge and the present writer respectively were produced. Essentially, they cited documentary and traditional evidence to show that the Changamire state dated from the late seventeenth century. My version, given in this book, suggested a north-eastern origin for the Changamire dynasty at that time, but Mudenge tended to locate the Changamire in the south-west for the Changamire 'years of silence', and even suggested that Khami was an eighteenth-century construction, in order to preserve the link of the Changamire with 'prestige' building: S.I. Mudenge, 'The Rozvi Empire and the *Feira* of Zumbo' (Univ. of London, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, 1972) and 'An identification of the Rozvi and its implication for the history of the Karanga', *Rhod. Hist.* (1974), V, 19-34; Beach, 'The historiography of the people of Zimbabwe', 21-30 and 'Historians and the Shona Empire: II: The Changamire Problem' (Univ. Rhod. Dep. Hist., Henderson Seminar Paper 20, 1972).

26. Sepúlveda to the King, 10 Aug. 1542, *Documents*, VII, 137-9.
27. João Velho to the King [post 1547] *Documents*, VII, 169-77.
28. Reports in N/3/33/8 and A/3/18/28 cited below, Chapters 6 and 7; Conceição, 'Tratado' (1696), *Chronista*, 105.
29. S. Muhlanga and E.M. Lloyd, 'Mbava', *NADA* (1925), III, 69; J.C. Paiva de Andrada, *Relatório de Uma Viagem as Terras do Changamire* (Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1886), 21.
30. Beach, 'The Mutapa dynasty'.
31. Axelson, *Portuguese . . . 1488-1600*, 30-1.
32. Almada to the King, 26 June 1516, *Documents*, IV, 287.
33. Axelson, *Portuguese . . . 1488-1600*, 51-3.
34. Alcáçova to the King, 20 Nov. 1506, *Documents*, I, 391.
35. Anhaia to the King's treasurers, 19 May 1506, *Documents*, I, 507.
36. Manuel Fernandes to the King's treasurers, 21 Oct. 1506, *Documents*, I, 687.
37. Veloso, 'Notes' (1511), *Documents*, VI, 183.
38. António da Silveira to the King [post 1528], *Documents*, V, 571.
39. Sepúlveda to the King, 10 Aug. 1542, *Documents*, VII, 137-9.
40. Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 271.
41. Caiado to a friend, 1561, *Documents*, VIII, 3-9; Viceroy to the King, 20 Dec. 1561, *Documents*, VIII, 65-7.
42. Caiado to a friend, 1561, ibid., 3-9; Luís Froís, 'Of the voyage of the Father Dom Gonçalo . . .' (1561), ibid., 37-59.
43. Abraham, 'The early political history', 67.
44. 'Conclusions of the learned men', 23 Jan. 1568, *Documents*, VIII, 163-71.
45. Axelson, *Portuguese . . . 1488-1600*, 153-8.
46. Monclaro, 'Narrative' [post 1573], *Documents*, VIII, 397, 415-17.
47. Homem to Luis da Silva, 15 Feb. 1576, *Documents*, VIII, 451-9.
48. Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental (1609), *Records*, VII, 282-5.
49. Ibid., 268; Barreto de Rezende and Bocarro, 'State of India' (1634), *Records*, II, 409-10.
50. Bocarro, 'Decade' [*c.*1631-49], *Records*, III, 361.
51. King to Viceroy, 26 Feb. 1602, Goa Arch., Livros das Monções, VIII, 70-v.
52. Bocarro, 'Decade' [*c.*1631-49], *Records*, III, 363-81; Gomes 'Viagem' (1648), 183.
53. Gomes, 'Viagem' 1648, 183.
54. Santos, 'Ethiopa Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 272, confirms the legality of the *mupeto* in the event of the non-payment of the *curva*.
55. Bocarro, 'Decade' [*c.*1631-49], *Records*, VI, 381-434.
56. Axelson, *Portuguese . . . 1600-1700, passim*, covers Portuguese policy in general.
57. Gomes 'Viagem' (1648), 239.
58. Alpers, *Ivory & Slaves*, 53; Diogo de Souza de Menezes to the King, 1 Apr. 1624, Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Caixa 1.
59. Barreto de Rezende and Bocarro, 'State of India' (1634), *Records*, II, 415.
60. Gomes, 'Viagem', (1648), 190.
61. J.R. Gray, 'Southern Africa and Madagascar', in J.R. Gray (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Africa: IV: c.1600-1700* (Cambridge, Univ. Press, 1975), 390.
62. Fr Luis, O.P. to the Provincial, 3 Feb. 1630, *Records*, II, 427-8; Barreto de Rezende and Bocarro, 'State of India' (1634), ibid., 415; 'Advices from Goa . . .' (1630), ibid., 429; Gomes, 'Viagem' (1648), 233; 'Testimony of baptism of Monomotapa . . .' (1652), *Records*, II, 445; Pe Domingos Henriques, 'Certidão' (1633), Goa Arch., Livros das Monções, XLI, 14.
63. 'Copy of the treaty made by the Portuguese with the King of Monomotapa', 24 May 1629, *Records*, VI, 290-2.
64. Macedo, 'Informação' (1633), Goa Arch., Livros das Moncões, 17-19.
65. Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 17-20; Newitt, *Portuguese Settlement*, 48-69.

66. Newitt, *Portuguese Settlement*, 41-7; Randles, *L'Empire du Monomotapa*, 53-7; Axelson, *Portuguese . . . 1600-1700*, 76-7, 125-6; Gomes, 'Viagem' (1648), 191-3; Manoel Barretto, 'Report' (1667), *Records*, III, 483-5, 491.
67. Randles, *L'Empire du Monomotapa*, 55.
68. Revised Delin. Rep. (1967), Min. Intern. Affs, Per/5 Nyachuru.
69. Barretto de Rezende and Bocarro, 'State of India' (1639), *Records*, II, 415-6; Diogo de Souza de Menezes to the King, 17 Feb. 1635, *Records*, IV, 277; Cacegas and Sousa, 'History of the order of St Dominic' (1767), *Records*, I, 397-400; Axelson, *Portuguese . . . 1600-1700*, 97, 111.
70. Axelson, *Portuguese . . . 1600-1700*, 111-2; Abraham, 'The Monomotapa dynasty', 67; Barreto de Rezende and Bocarro, 'State of India' (1634), *Records*, II, 418.
71. 'Testimony of baptism', *Records*, II, 445; Abraham, 'The Monomotapa dynasty', 69.
72. Axelson, *Portuguese . . . 1600-1700*, 136-7; Monomotapa to King, 20 Apr. 1663, Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Caixa 1. António Alvares Pereira to King, 15 Sept. 1663, Goa Arch., Livros das Monções, XXVIIIA, 125; Manoel Mascarenhas to Viceroy, 4 Aug. 1663, ibid., XXIXeXXX, 125; Manoel Barreto, 'Report' (1667), *Records*, III, 483; anon., 'Descripção dos Rios' (16 Mar. 1683), Bibl. da Ajuda, 51-VIII-44. This last account, written 20 years after the event, calls Domingos the 'Motata Cicate' or 'João', and may not be accurate as to the burning of the unlucky ruler.
73. Afonso Manamotapa to the King, 20 Apr. 1663, Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Caixa 1; anon., 'Descripção dos Rios' (1683), Bibl. da Ajuda, 51-VIII-44.
74. Manoel Barreto, 'Report' (1667), *Records*, III, 483, 491; anon., 'Descripção dos Rios' (1683), Bibl. da Ajuda 51-VIII-44.
75. Axelson, *Portuguese . . . 1600-1700*, 151.
76. Ibid., 154.
77. Conceição, 'Tratado' (1696), *Chronista*, 68; Assumpção, Breve informação' [*c.*1698], Bibl. da Ajuda, 51-VIII-40, 270/2.
78. Anon. 'Descripção dos Rios' (16 Mar. 1683), Bibl. da Ajuda, 51-VIII-44.
79. Axelson, *Portuguese . . . 1600-1700*, 151-2.
80. Manoel Barreto, 'Report' (1617), *Records*, III, 482; Joao de Sousa Freire to Viceroy, 12 June 1673, Goa Arch., Livros das Monções, XXXVIII, 224-6.
81. Gaspar Simões Madeira to Viceroy, 18 Apr. 1673, Goa Arch., Livros das Monções, XXXVIIIA, 229; João de Sousa Freire to Viceroy, 12 June and 15 July 1673, ibid., 225-6; Viceroy to King, 28-30 Sept. 1673, ibid., XXXIXeXL, 184; Luis de Mendoça Furtado to Prince Regent, 21 and 23 Jan. 1673, ibid., 35, 185.
82. Prince Regent to Viceroy, 3 Apr. 1675, *Records*, IV, 375.
83. Axelson, *Portuguese . . . 1600-1700*, 152.
84. 'Report of the Council in Lisbon' (8 Feb. 1684), *Records*, IV, 423; Caetano de Mello de Castro to Viceroy, 28 June 1684, Goa Arch., Livros das Monções, XLIX, 331-v
85. Miguel de Almeida to Viceroy, 23 June 1687, ibid., XLII, 403v; Manamotapa to King, 28 June 1679, Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Caixa 1.
86. Conceição, 'Tratado' (1696), *Chronista*, 67.
87. J.K. Rennie, 'Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism among the Ndau of Southern Rhodesia 1890-1935' (Northwestern Univ., unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, 1973), 68-70.
88. White, 'Esitshebeni', 45.

89. Bocarro, 'Decade' [*c.*1631-49], *Records*, III, 357, 411; Edwards to C.N.C., 13 Apr. 1898, N/3/33/8; Edwards, 'The Wanoe', 13-28; Nesbitt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8.
90. Chanaiwa, 'History of the Nhowe', 109-19.
91. Beach, 'Ndebele raiders and Shona power', *J. Afr. Hist.* (1974), XV, 645.
92. A.J.B. Hughes, 'The claim of the house of Gweshe', 8 Nov. 1965, Min. Intern. Affs. Per/5 Makope.
93. Latham, 'Some notes on the tribes in the Mount Darwin . . . Districts', 169.
94. Bocarro 'Decade' [*c.* 1631-49], *Records*, III, 356; Bourdillon, 'Peoples of Darwin', 107.
95. Fynn to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Shamva, 1965: Madziwa.
96. Fynn to C.N.C. *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; Bourdillon, 'Peoples of Darwin', 104-5; N.C. Darwin to P.N.C. Salisbury, 10 Apr. 1946, 25 Mar. 1947, Min. Intern. Affs, Per5/HM/DWN Nembire; Delin. Rep. Darwin, 1965: Nembire.
97. White, 'Some notes on the history and customs of the Urungwe district', 50-2.
98. Gwati, 'Native history of Salisbury', 17.
99. Bourdillon, 'Peoples of Darwin', 104; N.C. Darwin to P.N.C. Salisbury, 11 Apr. 1946, Min. Intern. Affs, Per 5 /HM/DWN Nhowedza.
100. E.P. Meaker, 'Story of Makope' [late 1940s], and 'Story of Gweshe [late 1940s]; A.J.B. Hughes, 'Gweshe', 8 Nov. 1965; Revised Delin Rep., 1968, Min. Intern. Affs, Per/5 Makope.
101. Revised Delin. Rep., 1967, Min. Intern. Affs, Per/5/H./MAZ Nyachuru.
102. J.W. Posselt to C.N.C. *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; W.A. Elliott, 'The Ma-Shuna', 110; T.M. Thomas, Acting N.C. Insiza to C.N.C. Bulawayo, 16 May 1906, A/3/18/28; R. Lanning, N.C. Inyati, to C.N.C. Bulawayo, 21 Apr. 1906, ibid.; C.E. Stuart, N.C. Gwelo, to C.N.C., Bulawayo, 16 Feb. 1906; ibid.; Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Texts 107-108 Rse; Caetano de Mello de Castro to Viceroy, 26 June 1684, Goa, Arch., Livros das Monções, XLIX, 328-30v; Conceição, 'Tratado' (1696) *Chronista*, 105; on the Mukomohasha-Nyandoro *nhari* dynasty, see Beach, 'The Mutapa dynasty', 8. The latest reference to the Mukomohasha north of the Mazoe was by Barreto de Rezende and Bocarro, 'State of India' (1634), *Records*, II, 416. See above, Chapter 2 for the earliest known dynasties in the central *moyo* nuclear area.
103. Manoel Vaz to Governor, 28 June 1688, Goa Arch., Livros das Monções, LIII, 278-v.
104. Conceição, 'Tratado' (1696), *Chronista*, 105.
105. Viceroy to King, 23 Feb. 1694, Goa Arch., Livros das Monções, LVIII, 360-1.
106. Caetano de Mello de Castro, 26 and 28 June 1684, ibid., XLIX, 328-31v; Conceição, 'Tratado (1696), *Chronista*, 105-6, 110-11.
107. 'Descripção Corográfica' [*c.*1780], Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Caixa 17.
108. Manoel Barreto, 'Report' (1667), *Records*, III, 492-3.
109. Manoel Vaz to Governor, 28 June 1688, Goa Arch., Livros das Monções, LIII, 278-v.
110. Abraham, 'Tsokoto 1962', Min. Intern. Affs, Per/5 Mangwende.
111. Beach, 'The Mutapa dynasty'.
112. Axelson, *Portuguese . . . 1600-1700*, 170.
113. Conceição, 'Tratado' (1696), *Chronista*, 106-7; Assumpção, 'Breve informação' [*c.*1698], Bibl. da Ajuda, 51-VIII-40, 270/2.
114. Viceroy to King, 23 Feb. 1694, Goa Arch., Livros das Monções, LVIII, 360-1.

115. Conceição, 'Tratado' (1696), *Chronista*, 109.
116. Ibid., 107-10; Viceroy to the King, 23 Feb. 1694, Goa Arch., Livros das Monções, LVIII, 360-1.
117. Conceição, 'Tratado' (1696), *Chronista*, 109; Axelson, *Portuguese . . . 1600-1700*, 185.
118. Henrique Bravo de Moraes, 'Continuam as Notícias do Arcebispado de Goa' (1726), in L. da Rocha, 'Uma informação inedita sobre Moçambique setecentista', *Monumenta* (1973), IX, 28-9; letter of 12 June 1710, Goa Arch., Livros das Monções, LXXV, 217-v; Randles, *L'Empire du Monomotapa*, 59-60.
119. King to Viceroy, 2 Sept. 1719, *Records*, V, 71-2.
120. See above, reference 99.
121. E.P. Meaker, 'Negomo Chieftainship' [? late 1940s], Min. Intern. Affs, Per/5 Negomo; V. Meredith, 'Protected villages in Chiweshe', 1974, ibid., HIS/3/1; Bullock, *The Mashona*, 108.
122. Letter of 12 June 1710, Goa Arch. Livros das Monções, LXXV, 217-v.
123. Pacheco, *Uma Viagem*, 25-7; *The Zambezi Papers of Richard Thornton*, ed. E.C. Tabler (London, Chatto & Windus, 2 vols, 1963), I, 135.
124. Letter of 12 June 1710, Goa Arch., Livros das Monções, LXXV, 217-v; letter of 19 June 1723, ibid., LXXXIXB, 506-10.
125. Dionízio de Mello de Castro, 'Notícia do Imperio Marave e dos Rios de Sena' (1763), *Anais [da Junta de Investigaçoes do Ultramar.* (1954), IX, i], 131-2; Randles, *L'Empire du Monomotapa*, 60.
126. Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 124-53; Newitt, *Portuguese Settlement*, 234-94.
127. Dionízio de Mello de Castro, 'Notícia' (1763), *Anais*, 145-7.
128. Viceroy to King, 23 Feb. 1694, Goa Arch., Livros das Monções, LVIII, 360-1.
129. Viceroy to King, 2 Dec. 1710, ibid., LXXV, 212.
130. Viceroy to Dom João, King of Monomotapa, 26 Jan. 1719, *Records*, V, 67.
131. Dionízio de Mello de Castro, 'Notícia' (1763), *Anais*, 131.
132. Ibid., 145-7; Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 109; Newitt, *Portuguese Settlement*, 259.
133. Dionízio de Mello de Castro, 'Notícia' (1763), *Anais*, 132.
134. Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 109.
135. Bourdillon, 'Some Aspects of the Religion of the Eastern Korekore', 22; Latham, 'Some notes on the tribes in the Mount Darwin . . . districts', 179; letter of 12 June 1710, Goa Arch., Livros das Monções, LXXV, 217-v; Dionízio de Mello de Castro, 'Notícia' (1763), *Anais*, 131-2; Pacheco, *Uma Viagem*, 26.
136. Viceroy to Monomotapa, 26 Jan. 1719, *Records*, V, 67; Memo., n.d., of Mutota *mhondoro* meeting of 12 Dec. 1967, Min. Intern. Affs, Per/5 Kasekete.
137. Dionízio de Mello de Castro, 'Notícia' (1763), *Anais*, 131-2; Pacheco, *Uma Viagem*, 26.
138. W. Montagu Kerr, *The Far Interior* (London, Sampson Low, Marston, 2nd edit., 1887), I, 191-208; Fynn to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; N.C. Darwin to C.N.C., Salisbury, 24 Oct. 1925; 21 Oct. 1938; Memo., n.d., of Mutota *mhondoro* meeting of 12 Dec. 1967; D.C. Darwin to P.C. Mashonaland North, 14 May 1968, Min. Intern. Affs, Per/5 Kasekete; N.C. Darwin to C.N.C., Salisbury, 18 Sept. 1923, ibid., per/5/HM/DWN Chiweshe *nzou*; genealogy of 6 Apr. 1960, ibid., Per/5 Chitsungo *nzou*.
139. Abraham, 'The Monomotapa dynasty', 69-70; Beach, 'The Mutapa dynasty'.
140. Viceroy to Monomotapa, 26 Jan. 1719, *Records*, V, 67; letter of 19 June 1723, Goa Arch., Livros das Monçoes, LXXXIXB, 506-10.
141. Dionízio de Mello de Castro, 'Notícia' (1763), *Anais*, 134-8.

142. Miranda, 'Monarchia Africana' [*c.*1766], in Andrade, *Relações*, 305.
143. Joaquim Joze Varella, 'Descripção da Capitania de Monsambique e suas povoaçõens, e producçoins, pertencentes a Coroa de Portugal' [?*c.*1788], *Anais* 309-10; *The Zambesi Expedition of David Livingstone, 1858-1863*, ed. J.P.R. Wallis (London, Chatto & Windus, 2 vols., 1956), I, 61; D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (London, J. Murray, 1857), 617; Pacheco, *Uma Viagem*, 4.
144. A.C.P. Gamitto, *King Kazembe* . . . trans. I. Cunnison (Lisbon, Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 2 vols, 1960), II, 177.
145. *The Zambezi Papers of Richard Thornton*, I, 132; Pacheco, *Uma Viagem*, 4, 27-8.
146. Xavier, 'Notícas' (1758), Andrade, *Relações*, 164; *The Zambesi Expedition of David Livingstone*, I, 67; Pacheco, *Uma Viagem*, 6-7.
147. See above, Chapter 2.
148. F. Hoppe, *A África Oriental no Tempo do Marquês de Pombal, 1750-1777* (Lisbon, Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1970), 422; Gamitto, *King Kazembe*, II, 177.
149. Pedro João Baptista, 'Proceedings at Tette' (1811), in *The Lands of Cazembe*, ed. R.F. Burton (London, Royal Geographical Society, 1873), 237; Gamitto, *King Kazembe*, II, 176; Newitt, *Portuguese Settlement*, 127, 252.
150. Dionízio de Mello de Castro, 'Notícia' (1763), *Anais*, 133-8; Miranda, 'Monarchia Africana' [*c.*1766], in Andrade, *Relações*, 306-12; anon., 'Descripção do Imperio Moanamotapa daquem do Rio Zambeze' (1794), *Memória e Documentos*, 22-9; it is interesting to note that the tactic of using spiked shields to form a temporary square in battle, described above, in Chapter 3, was still being used — with iron, spiked weapon-racks instead of shields — by the *vanyai* in the 1780s: António Manoel de Mello e Castro to Martinho de Mello e Castro, 11 June 1785, cited in Mudenge, 'The Rozvi Empire and the *feira* of Zumbo', 374.
151. For patrilocal marriage and *rovora* payment, see above, Chapter 3.
152. Bourdillon, 'Some Aspects of the Religion of the Eastern Korekore', 25, and 'The manipulation of a myth in a Tavara chiefdom', 118; Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 43-7. Bourdillon's informants implied a much longer period of uxorilocal marriage in the past than Isaacman's. In no case was uxorilocal marriage the rule for bondsmen, *varanda*.
153. Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 47-51; Fynn to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8.
154. Isaacman, 'The origin of . . . of the Chikunda', 443-61.
155. C.S. Lancaster, 'Ethnic identity, history and "tribe" in the Middle Zambezi valley', *American Ethnologist* (1974), I, 717-20.
156. Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, 834.
157. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 617-19.
158. Lancaster, 'Ethnic identity', 171-20.
159. Miranda, 'Monarchia Africana' [*c.*1766], in Andrade, *Relações*, 310, gives these more realistic figures than those of Dionízio de Mello de Castro's flat figure of a thousand per *condo*.
160. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 617-18.
161. Isaacman, 'The origins . . . of the Chikunda', 449.
162. Lancaster, 'Ethnic identity', 712; Xavier, 'Notícas' (1758), in Andrade, *Relações*, 145; Baltazar Manuel Pereira do Lago, 'Instrucção que o Illmo e Exmo Sr. Governador e Capitão Geral . . . deo a Quem lhe suceder neste governo' (20

Aug. 1768), in Andrade, *Relações*, 328; Gamitto, *King Kazembe*, I, 90; Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 617; *The Zambesi Expedition of David Livingstone*, I, 61, 295; *The Zambesi Journal and Letters of Dr John Kirk, 1858-63*, ed. R. Foskett (Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd, 2 vols, 1965), I, 118, 309; Pacheco, *Uma Viagem*, 14.

163. J. Cobbing, 'The evolution of Ndebele amabutho', *J. Afr. Hist.* (1974), XV, 607-31.
164. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 618.
165. Bourdillon, 'Some Aspects of the Religion of the Eastern Korekore', 16; Pacheco *Uma Viagem*, 14, 21, 27; *The Zambezi Papers of Richard Thornton*, I, 132-5, 181.
166. E. Alpers, 'Dynasties of the Mutapa-Rozwi complex', *J. Afr. Hist.* (1970), XI, 203.
167. Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 10-11; E. Alpers, 'The Mutapa and Malawi political systems', 15; Randles, *L'Empire du Monomotapa*, 63-7.
168. G. Liesegang, 'Nguni migrations between Delagoa Bay and the Zambezi, 1821-1839', *African Historical Studies* (1970), III, 319-21, 329-333; Edwards to C.N.C., 13 Apr. 1898, N/3/33/8; Pacheco, *Uma Viagem*, 14.
169. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 585-6; *The Zambezi Papers of Richard Thornton*, I, 153.
170. Newitt, *Portuguese Settlement*, 295-308.
171. Pacheco, *Uma Viagem*, 56; 'Reoccupação do Território de Zumbo' (1862), *Memoria e Documentos*, 248-9.
172. 'Territórios de Tete e Zumbo', 'Capitães Mores', *Memória e Documentos*, 242, 246; Kerr, *The Far Interior*, I, 282-7, 312; Bourdillon, 'Peoples of Darwin', 105.
173. Newitt, *Portuguese Settlement*, 306-8; H. Capello and R. Ivens, *De Angola a contra-costa* (Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1886), II, 293, 321; F.C. Selous, *Travel and Adventure in South-East Africa* (London, R. Ward, 1893), 218.
174. 'Territórios de Tete e Zumbo', 'Capitães Mores', *Memória e Documentos*, 242, 246; *Gold and the Gospel in Mashonaland, 1888*, eds. C.E. Fripp and V.W. Hiller (London, Chatto and Windus, 1949), 46-51.
175. 'Capitães Mores', *Memoria e Documentos*, 246; *Gold and the Gospel*, 53, 56.
176. Kerr, *The Far Interior*, I, 282-7, 312; Bourdillon, 'Peoples of Darwin', 105.
177. Newitt, *Portuguese Settlement*, 304.
178. 'Territórios de Tete e Zumbo', 'Capitães Mores', *Memoria e Documentos*, 242, 246; Newitt, *Portuguese Settlement*, 307; Matthews, 'One account of the history of the Vatande', 31-2; see also above, reference 99.
179. Beach, 'Ndebele raiders', 647; 'Vassalagem dos povos de Inhapange e Chingono, Zumbo, 1889', *Memória e Documentos*, 268.
180. A.N.C. Memo. 14 Nov. 1933, Min. Intern. Affs, Per/5 Bushu.
181. Kerr, *The Far Interior*, I, 191-208.
182. N.C. North Mazoe to C.N.C., Salisbury, 10 July 1900, N/3/1/12.
183. N.C. North Mazoe to C.N.C. Salisbury, 21 Oct. 1898, N/3/1/12; Ribeiro also supplied two guides to Chargwe, the medium of the Nehanda *mhondoro*, in her attempt to escape after the failure of the 1896-7 Shona rising against the Rhodesians, N.C. Mazoe, to C.N.C., Salisbury, 23 Nov. 1897, N/1/1/6.
184. T.O. Ranger, 'The last days of the empire of Mwene Mutapa', in *The History of the Central African Peoples Conference* (Lusaka, Rhodes-Livingstone Inst. Seventeenth Conference, 1963); Bourdillon, 'Some Aspects of the Religion of the Eastern Korekore', 16.

CHAPTER 5

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2. J. van Velsen, 'The establishment of the administration in Tongaland', in *Historians in Tropical Africa*, 177-95; A.K. Smith 'The peoples of Southern Mozambique: An historical survey', *J. Afr. Hist.* (1974), XV, 465-80; Lancaster, 'Ethnic identity', 723-5; H.P. Junod, 'Notes on the ethnological situation in Portuguese East Africa on the south of the Zambesi', *Bantu Studies* (1936), X, 295-300.
3. S.N.G. Jackson, N.C. Belingwe to C.N.C., 31 Mar. 1898, NB/6/1/1; A. Marwodzi, 'The Barozwi', *NADA* (1924), II, 89; R.M.G. Mtetwa, 'The "Political" and Economic History of the Duma People of South-Eastern Rhodesia from the Early Eighteenth Century to 1945' (Univ. of Rhodesia, unpubl. D.Phil. thesis, 1976), 8.
4. Junod, 'Notes on the ethnological situation', 297; A.F. Isaacman, 'Madzimanga, Mhondoro and the use of oral traditions — a chapter in Barwe religious and political history', *J. Afr. Hist.* (1973), XIV, 402.
5. Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Mtoko, 1965: Mkota, Goronga, Chikwizu, Goze, Zinhu.
6. Veloso, 'Notes' (1512), *Documents*, III, 181; Barros, 'Asia' (1552), *Records*, VI, 266.
7. Rennie, 'Christianity . . . among the Ndau', 55, 67.
8. Smith, 'The peoples of Southern Mozambique', 570.
9. Garlake, 'Rhodesian ruins', 510; Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Mtoko, 1965: Mtoko; Bullock, *The Mashona*, 105; H.A. Wieschoff, *The Zimbabwe-Monomotapa Culture in Southeast Africa* (Menasha, Wisconsin, G. Banta, 1941), 57-64.
10. P.A. Robins and A. Whitty, 'Excavations at Harleigh Farm, near Rusape, Rhodesia, 1958-1962', *South Afr. Archaeol. Bull.* (1966), XXI, 61-80; M. Bordini, 'The "Umtali Altar" site: A preliminary report', *Rhod. Prehist.* (1974), VI, xiii, 7-8, and pers. commun. from Dr T.N. Huffman.
11. Ross to C.N.C., 2 Dec. 1903, N/3/33/8; 'Mafohla' [Pseud. of F.W.T. Posselt] 'Notes on some tribes of Southern Rhodesia', *The Rhodesian Services Record* (1922), III, xi, 9-10; R.H. Baker, 'The Mutasa and Makoni dynasties', *NADA* (1924), II, 87; T.E. 'The story of the origin of the name "Makoni"', *NADA* (1936-7), XIV, 76-8; Abraham, 'The principality of Maungwe', 59-64; J. Thokozane, 'A short history of Chief Chipunza', *NADA* (1965), IX, ii, 59-60.
12. Hulley to C.N.C., 19 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; F.W.T. Posselt, 'Notes on some tribes'; Baker, 'The Mutasa and Makoni dynasties', 85; R.H. Baker, 'The *Mutupo* among the Wamanyika', *NADA* (1925), III, 50-1; J. Machiwenyika, 'History of the Manyika', lesson 68, Hist[orical] M[anu]s[cript]s Coll[ectio]n, MA14/1/2; Carneiro, 'Record (1573), *Documents*, VIII, 237.
13. J.K. Rennie, 'From Zimbabwe to a colonial chieftaincy: Four transformations of the Musikavanhu territorial cult in Rhodesia', in J.M. Schoffeleers (ed.), *Guardians of the Land*, (Gwelo, Mambo Press, 1979).
14. Octávio Roza de Oliveira, 'Zimbáuès de Moçambique', 41-52; and 'O amuralhado da cultura Zimbáuè-Monomotapa existente no Monte Bunga', *Boletim da Sociedade de Estudos da Provincia de Moçambique* (1969), XXXVIII, 160-1, 1969, 158-68; Wieschoff, *The Zimbabwe-Monomotapa Culture*, 38-56; Garlake, 'Excavation of a *zimbabwe* in Mozambique', 146-8; Smith, 'The peoples of Southern Mozambique', 571; André Fernandes to Father Provincial, 24 June 1560, *Documents*, VII, 467-71..

15. Santos, 'Ethiopa Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 273.
16. Ferrão, 'Account' (1810), *Records*, VII, 377-8; the 'Descripção Corográfica' [*c.*1780], Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Caixa 17, referred in general to a period of Mutapa overrule over Manyika before 1696.
17. João Julião da Silva, 'Memória' [1836-44], cited in Randles *L'Empire du Monomotapa*, 27.
18. Pacheco, *Uma Viagem*, 23.
19. Abraham, 'The early political history', 65.
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21. Veloso, 'Notes' (1512), *Documents*, III, 183; H. von Sicard, 'The Rhodesian tally', *NADA* (1954), XXXI, 52-4.
22. Isaacman, Madzi-manga; C. Peters, *The Eldorado of the Ancients* (London, G. Bell, 1902), 102, 121.
23. Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Mtoko, 1965: Goronga, Mkota, Zinhu, Chikwizu, Goze; Bocarro, 'Decade' [*c.*1631-49], *Records*, III, 356.
24. Abraham, 'The early political history', 84.
25. Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Mtoko, 1965: Mtoko and Charewa.
26. See above, Chapter 4.
27. Abraham, 'The early political history', 84; for objections to the existence of an historical Mutapa of this name, see Beach, 'The Mutapa dynasty'.
28. Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Mtoko, 1965: Mtoko, Charewa, Nyakuchena, Chimoyo, Nechombo, Nyamukoho and Chimukoko.
29. Huffman, 'Radiocarbon dates'; J.R. Crawford, 'Report on excavations at Harleigh Farm, near Rusape (National Monument No. 72), (1961-1962)', *Arnoldia* (1967), III, vi, 1-9; Barreto de Rezende and Bocarro, 'State of India' (1634), *Records*, II, 414; Bocarro, 'Decade' (*c.*1631-49], *Records*, III, 356; Manoel Barretto, 'Report' (1667), ibid., 487; Ross to C.N.C., 2 Dec. 1903, N/3/33/8; T.E. 'The story of the origin of the name "Makoni" ', 77; Abraham, 'The principality of Maungwe', 58-63; Macedo, 'Informação' (1633), Goa Arch., Livros das Monções, XLI, 17-19v.
30. Abraham, 'The principality of Maungwe', 64-70.
31. Veloso, 'Notes' (1512), *Documents*, III, 183; Carneiro, 'Records' (1573), *Documents*, VIII, 233-45; Homem to Luis da Silva, 15 Feb. 1576, ibid., 449.
32. Abraham, 'The early politiçal history', 66, n.44; Monclaro, 'Narrative' [post 1573], *Documents*, VIII, 379. I am indebted to Dr J.K. Rennie for this suggestion.
33. D.N. Beach, 'Generational Dating-Systems for Shona Dynasties' (Salisbury, unpubl. paper, 1973), 14-18, explores this argument in full; 'Descripção Corográfica' [*c.*1780], Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Caixa 17.
34. Descripção Corográfica [*c.*1780], Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Caixa 17.
35. Ibid.; Baker, 'The Mutupo among the Wamanyika', 48.
36. Beach, *Shona Dynastic Histories*; Morris to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; A.N.C. memorandum 14 Nov. 1933, Min. Intern. Affs, Per/5 Bushu; White, 'Some notes on the history and customs in the Urungwe district', 53; E.G. Kenny, Acting N.C. Chilimanzi to C.N.C., 5 Dec. 1903, N/3/33/8.
37. Beach, 'Generational Dating-Systems', 16-7.
38. Mtetwa, 'The "Political" and Economic History of the Duma', 22-7.
39. Veloso, 'Notes' (1512), *Documents*, III, 183.
40. Abraham, 'The early political history', 64.

41. Ibid. Abraham's only reference for this is: 'a mss. of the early 18th century studied by me in Lisbon, and purporting to rest in part on fragments rescued from the earlier archives of Sofala. This ms. contains an interesting account of the political history of Uteve up to the start of the 19th century', 'The early political history', 82, n.41a. As far as I know, such an early eighteenth-century source has not been located by Drs S.I. Mudenge, H.H.K. Bhila, A.F. Isaacman or M.D.D. Newitt, and I suspect that in a notoriously poor typescript Abraham's '19th century' is correct. This makes it fairly certain to be a work of João Julião da Silva, for whose ruler-list in 1831 see 'Memória sobre Bandire' (1831), Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Maço 21, and for criticism of the type of source Silva probably used, see the text of this chapter.
42. Caiado to a friend, 1561, *Documents*, VIII, 5; Manoel Barretto, 'Report' (1667), *Records*, III, 487-8; Newitt, *Portuguese Settlement*, 68, 205-6.
43. João Julião da Silva, 'Memória sobre Bandire' (1831), Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Maço 21, and allied correspondence summarized in Newitt, *Portuguese Settlement*, 210.
44. Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 251; Manoel Barretto, 'Report' (1667), *Records*, III, 487-8.
45. Ferrão 'Account' (1810), *Records*, VII, 378.
46. Almada to the King, 26 June 1516, *Documents*, IV, 277; António da Silveira to the King [post 1528], *Documents*, V, 567-71; Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 193.
47. Rennie, 'Christianity . . . among the Ndau', 66-7.
48. André Fernandes to the Father Provincial, 24 June 1560, *Documents*, VII, 467-71.
49. Rennie, 'Christianity . . . among the Ndau', 68-72.
50. The earliest definite reference to Mbire III is in 'Descripção Corográfica' [*c.*1780], Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Caixa 17; for local traditions, see Beach, *Shona Dynastic Histories*.
51. Ibid.
52. Rennie, 'Christianity . . . among the Ndau'; 'From Zimbabwe to a colonial chieftaincy . . . The Musikavanhu territorial cult in Rhodesia'.
53. Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 286-7.
54. Ibid., 273.
55. Ibn-Madjid, in *Três Roteiros*, 44; Almada to the King, 26 June 1516, *Documents*, IV, 287-9.
56. Monclaro, 'Narrative' [post 1573], *Documents*, VIII, 393; Couto, 'Asia' [pre 1616], *Documents*, VIII, 277; Santos 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 286, Assumpção, 'Breve informação' [*c.*1698], Bibl. da Ajuda, 51-VIII-40, 270-2.
57. Newitt, *Portuguese Settlement*, 1921.
58. Abraham, 'The early political history', 65; Pacheco, *Uma Viagem*, 24.
59. Monclaro, 'Narrative' [post 1573], *Documents*, VIII, 379; Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VIII, 275.
60. See above, Chapter 4.
61. Alcáçova to the King, 20 Nov. 1506, *Documents*, I, 391-9; Veloso, 'Notes' (1512), *Documents*, III, 183; Pero Vaz Soares to the King, 30 June 1513, ibid., 459; Almada to the King, 26 June 1516, *Documents*, IV, 277-91; António da Silveira to the King [post 1528], *Documents*, V, 567-9.
62. 'Conclusions of the men of learning' (1569), *Documents*, VIII, 163-71.
63. Carneiro, 'Record' (1573), ibid., 233-45.

64. Monclaro, 'Narrative' [post 1573], ibid., 379; Homem to Luis da Silva, 15 Feb. 1576, ibid., 449.
65. Becarro, 'Decade' [*c.*1631-49], *Records*, III, 355-6; Barreto de Rezende and Bocarro, 'State of India' (1634), *Records*, II, 414; Manoel Barreto, 'Report' (1667), *Records*, III, 482; Conceição, 'Tratado' (1696), *Chronista*, 44; Phelipe Manamotapa to the King, 28 June 1679, Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç.
66. Barreto de Rezende and Bocarro, 'State of India' (1634), *Records*, II, 411.
67. E. Axelson, *Portugal and the Scramble for Africa, 1875-1891* (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand Univ. Press 1967), 187.
68. Homen to Luis da Silva, 15 Feb. 1576, *Documents*, VIII, 449-59; Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 217-21.
69. Isaacman, *Mozambique*; Newitt, *Portuguese Settlement*.
70. Manoel Barretto, 'Report' (1667), *Records*, III, 488; Acta de Vassallagem do Rei de Quiteve, 23 Oct. 1644, *Memória e Documentos*, 122.
71. Barreto de Rezende and Bocarro, 'State of India' (1634), *Records*, II, 411.
72. Joseph da Fonseca Coutinho to Viceroy, 14 June 1699, Goa Arch., Livros das Monções, LXIII, 127-8; Viceroy to King, 14 Nov. 1704, ibid., LXVII, 191-2; King to Viceroy, 19 Jan. 1704, ibid., 129.
73. H.H.K. Bhila, 'Trade and the survival of an African polity: The external relations of Manyika from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth century', *Rhod. Hist.* (1972), III, 11-28.
74. Newitt, *Portuguese Settlement*, 206-7.
75. A.K. Smith, 'Delagoa Bay and the trade of south-eastern Africa', in Gray and Birmingham, *Precolonial African Trade*, 283.
76. Newitt, *Portuguese Settlement*, 210.
77. Conceição, 'Tratado' (1696), *Chronista*, 105-6; Abraham, 'The principality of Maungwe', 63.
78. Bhila, 'Trade and survival', 19-20, 24-6.
79. Sebastião Xavier Botelho, *Memória Estatistica sobre os Dominios Portuguezes na Africa Oriental* (Lisbon, J.B. Morando, 2 parts, 1835), I, 167-9.
80. Liesegang, 'Nguni migrations', 324-9, 335; G.J. Liesegang, 'Aspects of Gaza Nguni history, 1821-1897', *Rhod. Hist.* (1975), VI, 8.
81. D.P. Abraham, 'Maramuca: An exercise in the combined use of Portuguese records and oral tradition', *J. Afr. Hist.* (1961), II, 218-19.
82. Mtetwa, 'The "Political" and Economic History of the Duma', 27.
83. 'Descripção Corográfica' [*c.*1780], Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Caixa 17.
84. Ibid.; Machiwenyika, 'History', Lesson 41, Hist. Mss Colln, MA14/1/2; Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental', (1609), *Records, VII*, 319-20.
85. 'Descripçao Corografica', [*c.*1780], Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Caixa 17.
86. Abraham, 'The principality of Maungwe', 66-72.
87. Hulley to C.N.C., 18 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; Superintendant of Natives Umtali to C.N.C. 11 June 1917, A/3/18/18/1.
88. R. Summers, *Inyanga: Prehistoric Settlements in Southern Rhodesia* (London, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1958); Machiwenyika, 'History', Lesson 57, Hist. Mss Colln, MA14/1/2; F.M. Lloyd and S. Muhlanga, 'In the early days', *NADA* (1926), IV, 109.
89. Pers. commun. from Dr T.N. Huffman; J.G. Storry, 'The settlement and territorial expansion of the Mutasa dynasty', *Rhod. Hist.* (1976), VII, 14-16, 18-21.
90. Pers. commun. from Professor G. Fortune; Fortune, '75 years', 57.

CHAPTER 6

1. We are fortunate that, in the last few years of the Ndebele state, after its conquest, but before its people were dispersed, an effort was made to collect the traditions of the Rozvi in the Matabeleland area. It would probably be difficult to collect such material today. Most of the collected data is in A/3/18/28.
2. A.N.C. Tuli to C.N.C. Bulawayo, 1 Dec. 1898, NB/1/1/6; A.N.C. Tuli to C.N.C. Bulawayo, 6 May 1901, NB/1/1/13.
3. H. von Sicard, 'The origins of some of the tribes in the Belingwe Reserve: 11', *NADA* (1955), XXII, 79.
4. Sicard, 'Shaka and the north', 147; Chidziwa, 'History of the Vashawasha', 17.
5. Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Ndanga, 1964: Gudo.
6. H. von Sicard, 'The Dumbuseya', *NADA* (1968), IX, v, 22-38.
7. Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep., Text 48 Ctr; Aquina, 'The tribes in Victoria', 6.
8. G. Fortune, 'A Rozvi text with translation and notes', *NADA* (1956), XXXIII, 67-91; K.R. Robinson, 'A history of the Bikita District', *NADA* (1957), XXXIV, 75; M.V.J. Rukara, 'A History of vaRozwi of Mambo', in Hist. Mss Colln, Misc/RU4/1/2; C.J.K. Latham, 'Dzimbadzemabgwe', *NADA* (1970), X, ii, 127.
9. Huffman, 'The rise and fall of Zimbabwe', 355; pers. commun. from Dr T.N. Huffman; Barros, 'Asia' (1552), *Records*, VI, 267.
10. K.R. Robinson, *Khami Ruins* (London, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1959).
11. Huffman, 'Radiocarbon dates', 5; Robinson, *Khami Ruins;* see also below, Appendix I.
12. D.P. Abraham, 'Porcelain from Hill Ruin, Khami', *South Afr. Archaeol. Bull.* (1962), XVI, 32-4.
13. Garlake, 'Rhodesian ruins', 499-500.
14. T.N. Huffman, 'Iron Age archaeology', Rhodesian Schools Exploration Society (Matabeleland Branch), *21st Expedition: Runde, 1971* (Salisbury, The Society, 1971), 40; see also, below, Appendix I.
15. Robinson, *Khami Ruins*, 143.
16. D.N. Beach, 'Ndebele raiders and Shona power', 635-7; R.N. Hall, *Great Zimbabwe* (London, Methuen, 1905), 82-3; Robinson, *Khami Ruins;* F.G. Elliott, N.C. Selukwe, to C.N.C., 19 May 1906, A/3/18/28; T.M. Thomas to C.N.C., 16 May 1906, ibid.; Lanning to C.N.C., 21 Apr. 1906, ibid.; J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8.
17. Robinson, *Khami Ruins*, 143; Garlake, 'Rhodesian ruins', 512; Summers, *Ancient Ruins*, 25; W.A. Elliott, 'The Ma-Shuna', 113; S.N.G. Jackson to C.N.C., 31 Jan. 1898, NB/6/1/1; F.G. Elliott to C.N.C., 19 May 1906, A/3/18 28; T.M. Thomas to C.N.C., 16 May 1906, ibid.; Lanning to C.N.C., 21 Apr. 1906, ibid.; C.T. Stuart to C.N.C., 16 Feb. 1906, ibid.
18. Garlake, 'Rhodesian ruins', 500.
19. Ibid., 508-9.
20. Huffman, 'The rise and fall', 356-7.
21. G. Caton-Thompson, *The Zimbabwe Culture: Ruins and Reactions* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1931).
22. Robinson, *Khami Ruins*, 117.
23. E. Bernhard, 'Ancient village site on Murahwa Hill, Umtali: Report on excavations, 1964-8' (Salisbury, National Museum and Monuments, unpubl. report); 'Descripção Corográfica' [*c.*1730], Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Caixa 17.
24. Caton-Thompson, *The Zimbabwe Culture*, 129; Beach, 'Ndebele raiders', 643.

25. Hall, *Great Zimbabwe*, 129.
26. Caton-Thompson, *The Zimbabwe Culture*, 166-77.
27. Summers, *Ancient Ruins*, 22-3, plate 21; D. Randall-MacIver, *Mediaeval Rhodesia* (London, Macmillan, 1906), frontispiece, 41.
28. Garlake, *Great Zimbabwe*, 168-9.
29. C.T. Stuart to C.N.C., 16 Feb. 1906, A/3/18/28; F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo*, 3, 10; F.W.T. Posselt, *Fact and Fiction* (Bulawayo, Rhodesian Printing and Publishing, 1935), 141; Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Text 107 Rse; Sicard, 'The origins . . . Belingwe Reserve: 5', *NADA* (1948), XXV, 102.
30. 'Descripção Corográfica' [*c.*1780], Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Caixa 17. P.S. Garlake, 'Seventeenth century Portuguese earthworks in Rhodesia', *South Afr. Archaeol. Bull.* (1966), XXI, 157-70; and 'Excavations at the seventeenth-century site of Dambarare'.
31. J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1906, N/3/33/8; F.G. Elliott to C.N.C., 19 May 1906, A/3/18/28; T.M. Thomas to C.N.C., 16 May 1906, ibid.; Lanning to C.N.C., 21 Apr. 1906, ibid.
32. F.G. Elliott to C.N.C., 19 May 1906, A/3/18/28.
33. Abraham, 'The Monomotapa dynasty', 73-4.
34. Veloso, 'Notes' (1512), *Documents*, III, 185.
35. Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1909), *Records*, VII, 275.
36. Conceição, 'Tratado' (1696), *Chronista*, 68.
37. Barros, 'Asia' (1552), *Records*, VI, 267.
38. Barbosa, 'Description' [*c.*1518], *Documents*, V, 359-61; Monclaro, 'Narrative' [post 1573], *Documents*, VIII, 379; Couto, 'Asia' [pre 1616], *Documents*, VIII, 271; Barreto de Rezende and Bocarro, 'State of India' (1634), *Records*, III, 414; Gomes, 'Viagem' (1648), 196-8; Manoel Barretto, 'Report' (1667), *Records*, III, 487.
39. Gomes, 'Viagem' (1648), 173.
40. Conceição, 'Tratado' (1696), *Chronista*, 68; Custodio de Almeida e Sôuza, 'Rezumo breve de algumas notícias que da Custodio de Almeida e Souza, do estado dos Rios de Senna e Sofalla' (16 June 1698), Bibl. da Ajuda, 51-IX-3.
41. Anon., 'Descripção' (16 March 1683), Bibl. da Ajuda, 51-VIII-43.
42. Barros, 'Asia' (1552), Records, VI, 267; Macedo, 'Informação' (1633), Goa Arch., Livros das Monções, XLI, 17-19v; Conceição, 'Tratado' (1696), *Chronista*, 68, 105.
43. Mudenge, 'The Rozvi Empire and the *Feira* of Zumbo', 65; Conceiçao, 'Tratado' (1696), *Chronista*, 68, 105.
44. See above, references 34-8.
45. Fortune, 'A Rozvi text'.
46. Muhlanga and Lloyd, 'Mbava', 62-3.
47. Abraham, 'The Monomotapa dynasty', 61.
48. H. von Sicard, 'Mambo Dyembewu', *Proc. Trans Rhod. Sci. Assoc.* (1951), XLIII, 188-93.
49. Alcáçova to the King, 20 Nov. 1506, *Documents*, I, 395.
50. The Khami-culture area was known to the Portuguese as 'Butua', and the Mutapa dynasty periodically claimed to rule it, or to have ruled it before a 'revolt' by the Torwa dynasty: Barbosa, 'Description' [*c.*1518], *Documents*, V, 359-61; Barros, 'Asia' (1552), *Records*, VI, 267 Monclaro, 'Narrative' [post 1573], *Documents*, VII, 379; Conceição, 'Tratado' (1696), *Chronista*, 68, 105. But other writers simply describe it as another kingdom apparently independent of the Mutapa: Couto, 'Asia' [pre 1616], *Records*, VI, 36-7, claimed that Butua was subject to Manyika, which was absurd; Santos, 'Ethiopia Oriental' (1609), *Records*, VII, 275; Barreto de Rezende and Bocarro, 'State of India' (1634), *Records*, II, 414; Gomes, 'Viagem' (1648), 196-8; Manoel Barretto, 'Report' (1667), *Records*, VI, 487. Others are explicit that the Torwa rulers of Butua were hostile to the Mutapas: Alcáçova to the King, 20 Nov. 1506, *Documents*, I, 396; Veloso, 'Notes' (1512), *Documents*, III, 185. In general it seems most improbable that the Khami culture would have paid tribute to anyone.

51. Alcáçova to the King, 20 Nov. 1506, *Documents*, I, 395, Veloso, 'Notes' (1512), *Documents*, III, 185; João Velho to the King [*c.*1548], *Documents*, VII, 173.
52. See above, reference 50; see also the testimonies collected by Andres de Vides y Albarado and Bras de Figueiredo (1633), Goa Arch., Livros das Monções, XLI, 13-19.
53. Gomes, 'Viagem' (1648), 180, reference 43.
54. Manoel Barretto, 'Report' (1667), *Records*, III, 487.
55. Sisnando Dias Bayão to Belchior Teixeira, July 1644, in 'Sisnando Dias Bayão, Conquistador da "Mae d'Ouro" ', ed. C.R. Boxer, in *1º Congresso da História da Expansão Portuguesa no Mundo (4ª Secção)* (Lisbon, Ministerio das Colonias, 3 vols, 1938), III, 99-115; Gomes, 'Viagem' (1648), 196-7; Manoel Barretto, 'Report' (1667), *Records*, III, 487; there is no evidence that this *xerife* was the same as the ruler of Entomboe mentioned above, Chapters 2 and 4.
56. Axelson, *Portuguese . . . 1600-1700*, 139, Chapter 10.
57. Mudenge, 'The Rozvi Empire and the *Feira* of Zumbo', 72.
58. Anon., 'Descripção' (16 March 1683), Bibl. da Ajuda, 51-VIII-43.
59. Mudenge, 'The Rozvi Empire and the *Feira* of Zumbo', 65.
60. Lanning to C.N.C., 21 Apr. 1906, A/3/18/28.
61. T.M. Thomas to C.N.C., 16 May 1906, A/3/18/28.
62. C.T. Stuart to C.N.C., 16 Feb. 1906, A/3/18/28; H. von Sicard, 'The Jawunda', *NADA* (1959), XXXVI, 124.
63. H.M.G. Jackson, N.C. Matobo, to C.N.C., 28 May 1906, A/3/18/28.
64. J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; Marwodzi, 'The Barozwi', 88; F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo*, 3; F.W.T. Posselt, *Fact and Fiction*, 141-2; Fortune, 'A Rozvi text', 72; Univ. Rhod. Dep. Hist. Text 107 Rse; Sicard, 'The origins . . . Belingwe Reserve: 4', *NADA* (1948) XXV, 99, n.10; Sicard, 'The origins . . . Belingwe Reserve: 11', 78; Sicard, 'The Jawunda', 124; Sicard's suggestion that the Tumbare dynasty was originally *dziva* seems to rely entirely on the similarity between the Tumbare totem *bepe* and Le-bepe, leader of the *mbedzi/dziva* Mbedzi in Venda, Sicard, 'The origins . . . Belingwe Reserve: 5', 100; this is very thin evidence.
65. Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Lomagundi, 1965: Zvimba; Bocarro, 'Decade' [*c.*1631-49], *Records*, III, 356.
66. The 1683 account describes Torwa as ruling 'Butua'. By the 1690s Changamire was well in control. The conquest was thus rapid, and comparatively easy.
67. C.T. Stuart to C.N.C., 16 Feb. 1906, A/3/18/28; F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo*, 3, 10; and *Fact and Fiction*, 141; Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Text 107 Rse; Sicard, 'The origins . . . Belingwe Reserve: 5', 102.
68. C.T. Stuart to C.N.C., 16 Feb. 1906.
69. Marwodzi, 'The Barozwi', 88.
70. Mudenge, 'An identification of the Rozvi'; the Tumbare *moyo-bepe*, Chihunduru *soko*, possibly the Mbava-Rozani *moyo* family and the Chizungu and Murove *chuma/gwai* dynasties.

71. Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Victoria, 1965: Zimuto, Mutonodza, Nemarundwe, Gurajena.
72. Mtetwa, 'The "Political" and Economic History of the Duma', 18-22; Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., 1964: Ndanga, Nyakunowa.
73. Aquina, 'The tribes in Victoria', 12; Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Victoria, 1965: Charumbira.
74. Aquina, 'The tribes in Victoria', 7; Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep. Victoria, 1965: Mapanzure.
75. Chidziwa, 'History of the Vashawasha', 16-17; Seed, 'A glimpse of Native history', 8.
76. Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Victoria, 1965: Nemarundwe.
77. Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Text 10b Vta. There has been some confusion between Dewe/Debwe *shumba* and the *moyo/sinyoro* Njanja leader Dehwe, a later immigrant into the area, who passed through the same area on his way to settle at Mashaba, but apparently he did not stop there: Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Text 10 Czi.
78. Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Victoria, 1965: Zimuto, Mutonodza, Nemarundwe, Gurajena.
79. P. Forrestall, N.C. Chibi, to C.N.C., 8 Feb. 1904, in N/3/33/8 and in D.K. Parkinson, 'Chibi tribe', *NADA* (1970), X, ii, 84; H. Franklin, '"Nyaningwe"', *NADA* (1928), VI, 80.
80. J.H. Tagwireyi, 'Origin of the Vamari clan', *NADA* (1950), XXVI, 64.
81. L.F. Seymour, 'The tradition of the VaMare of Chibi', *NADA* (1940), XVII, 74.
82. Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Text 10i Czi.
83. Ibid.
84. Kenny to C.N.C., 5 Dec. 1903, N/3/33/8; Sr Mary Aquina, 'The tribes in Chilimanzi Reserve and their relation to the Rozvi', *NADA* (1965), IX, ii, 40.
85. Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Text 10n Swe.
86. Franklin, '"Nyaningwe"', 81.
87. J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Selukwe, 1963: Nhema; Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Text 10o Swe, and 10L Swe.
88. Abraham, 'The roles of "Chaminuka"', 35, n.5.
89. Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Text 10o and 10L Swe.
90. Ibid., 10L Swe; Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Selukwe, 1963: Mazivisa; White, 'Esitshebeni', 86.
91. White, 'Esitshebeni'.
92. Forrestall to C.N.C., 8 Feb. 1904, N/3/33/8; Beach, *Shona Dynastic Histories*; D.K. Parkinson, 'Chief Chibi: 1890', *Rhodesiana* (1966), XV, 64.
93. Aquina, 'The tribes in Chilimanzi Reserve', 40.
94. White, 'Esitshebeni'.
95. Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Shabani, 1965: Mapanzure.
96. Ibid., Delin. Rep., Belingwe, 1965: Mapirabana.
97. Ibid., Per/5 Belingwe, Nyamondo.
98. Ibid., Delin. Rep., Nuanetsi, 1965: Negari.
99. Ibid., Delin. Rep., Nuanetsi, 1965: Neshuro, Murove.
100. H. von Sicard, 'The origins of . . . Belingwe Reserve: 2', *NADA* (1948), XXV, 95.
101. Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Belingwe, 1965: Mahlebadza; ibid., Per/5 Mahlebadza.

102. Rennie, 'Christianity . . . among the Ndau', 58-61.
103. H. von Sicard, 'The origins . . . Belingwe Reserve: 8', *NADA* (1951), XXVIII, 5-23; Min. Intern. Affs, Delin., Rep., Belingwe, 1965: Chingoma; ibid., Per/5 Chingoma; H. von Sicard, 'Die Rembetu', *Anthropos* (1950), XLIV, 202.
104. Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Nuanetsi, 1965: Sengwe, Chitanga.
105. Forrestall to C.N.C., 8 Feb. 1904, N/3/33/8; Sicard, 'The origins . . . Belingwe Reserve: 9', *NADA* (1952), XXIX, 48-9.
106. Dintweng Kousu, 'Valumbila', *Ndevo Yengombe Luvizho*, ed. G. Fortune (Cape Town, Univ. of Cape Town Communications from the School of African Studies, N.S. No. 21, 1949), 35-41.
107. P.M. Sebina, 'Makalaka', *African Studies* (1947), VI, 82-94.
108. D. Kouso, 'Ndevo yopaluka kweLudzi gwakaMosojani', *Ndevo Yengombe Luvizho*, 43-9.
109. K. Moloi, 'Kulonda ludzi gwevaTeti', ibid., 51-3.
110. Sicard, 'The Jawunda', 103-4; H. von Sicard, 'Ruins and their traditions on the Lower Mzingwane and in the Beit Bridge area', *NADA* (1961), XXXVIII, 52, 54-5, 58, 65. The groups involved include Mavogwe *soko*, Nengare's *soko* Rembetu, Mutove Mbidzi's Twamamba, Mabvumbe's *chuma* group and Chibenge's *zhou* Xwamene-Twamamba.
111. Q.N. Parsons, 'On the origins of the bamaNgwato', *Botswana Notes and Records* (1973), V, 87-9.
112. G. Sinton Schoettler, 'The Sotho, Shona and Venda; A study in cultural continuity', *International Journal of African Historical Studies* (1971), I, 1-17.
113. Huffman, *The Leopards Kopje Tradition*; Rightmire, 'Iron Age skulls', 161-2.
114. N.J. van Warmelo, 'The baBirwa', in N.J. van Warmelo (ed.), *The Copper Miners of Musina and the Early History of the Zoutpansberg* (Pretoria, Dep. of Native Affairs Ethnological Publications No. 8, 1940), 98-100, and M.F. Mamadi, 'History of the baBirwa of Mamadi', ibid., 101-8; Parsons, 'On the origins of the bamaNgwato', 90-1, 96-7.
115. M. Wilson, 'The Sotho, Venda, and Tsonga', in *The Oxford History of South Africa*, I, 167-9.
116. G.P. Lestrade, 'Some notes on the ethnic history of the Bavenda and their Rhodesian affinities', *South African Journal of Science* (1925), XXIV, 487-8.
117. N.M.N. Ralushai and J.R. Gray, 'Ruins and traditions of the Ngona and Mbedzi', *Rhod. Hist.* (1977), VIII, 1-11.
118. Ehret, 'Outlining Southern African history', 10-12.
119. R.J. Mason, 'Background to the Transvaal Iron Age — new discoveries at Olifantspoort and Broederstroom', *Journal of the South African Institute of Mining & Metallurgy* (1974), LXXIV, 211-14.
120. 'Singo' is actually only one of the names of the current ruling dynasties of the Venda. Others include 'Khwinde' and 'Ndalamo', while E. Mudau, whose accounts stress the Lemba role in Venda history, calls them 'Senzi', a word of Swahili origin used by the Lemba to refer to non-Lemba.
121. Alpers, 'Dynasties of the Mutapa-Rozvi complex', 216; Lestrade, 'Some notes on the ethnic history of Bavenda', 491.
122. G.J. Liesegang, 'New light on Venda traditions: Mahumane's account of 1730', *History in Africa* (1977), IV, 163-80.
123. N.J. van Warmelo, Introduction to *The Copper Miners*, 7, n.3; E. Mudau, 'The Dau of Tshakhuma', ibid., 71.
124. H. Stayt, *The Bavenda* (London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1931), 187.

125. Ibid., 11; Ralushai and Gray, 'Ruins and traditions of the Ngona and Mbedzi', 4.
126. S.M. Dzivhani, 'The chiefs of Venda', *The Copper Miners*, 33; Ralushai and Gray, 'Ruins and traditions of the Ngona and Mbedzi', 5-6.
127. M.M. Motenda, 'History of the western Venda and of the Lemba', *The Copper Miners*, 51; Dzivhani, 'The chiefs of Venda', 33; Mudau, 'The Dau of Tshakhuma', 71-2; Lestrade, 'Some notes on the ethnic history of the Bavenda', 487-9.
128. Ralushai and Gray, 'Ruins and traditions of the Ngona and Mbedzi', 5.
129. Sicard, 'The origins . . . Belingwe Reserve: 9', 48-9, and 'Ruins and their traditions on the Lower Mzingwane', 67.
130. Forrestall to C.N.C., 8 Feb. 1904, N/3/33/8; Sicard, 'The origins . . . Belingwe Reserve: 9', 48-9; Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Beit Bridge, 1965: Matibi.
131. Ralushai and Gray, 'Ruins and traditions of the Ngona and Mbedzi', 8.
132. Dzivhani, 'The chiefs of Venda', 33; Mudau, 'The Dau of Tshakhuma', 71; pers. commun. from N. Ralushai, April 1977.
133. Ralushai and Gray, 'Ruins and traditions of the Ngona and Mbedzi', 4-5.
134. Ibid., 8.
135. Mudau, 'The Dau of Tshakhuma', 71-2, 76-7, claims that Raphulu was paramount among the Ngoma. This is partly contradicted by his own account of Tshakhuma, ibid., 72-4, and wholly contradicted by Ralushai and Gray, 'Ruins and traditions of the Ngona and Mbedzi', 4.
136. Mudau, 'The Dau of Tshakhuma', 73.
137. E. Mudau, 'Ngoma-lungundu and the early invaders of Venda', in *The Copper Miners*, 10, 30-1; Mudau, 'The Dau of Tshakhuma', 71-2.
138. Motenda, 'History of the western Venda', 51-3.
139. Mudau, 'Ngoma-lungundu', 8.
140. Mudau, 'The Dau of Tshakhuma', 72-4.
141. Mudau, 'Ngoma-lungundu', 8.
142. Mudau, 'The Dau of Tshakhuma', 75.
143. Stayt, *The Bavenda*, 11.
144. Ralushai and Gray, 'Ruins and traditions of the Ngona and Mbedzi', 4. There were also *dau*-totem Ngoma at Tshiheni Tenzhene, and Luheni, above Lake Fundudzi, Mudau, 'The Dau of Tshakhuma', 74; Ralushai and Gray, 'Ruins and traditions of the Ngona and Mbedzi', 2.
145. Mudau, 'Ngoma-lungundu', 10.
146. Ibid., 10, 24; Mudau, 'The Dau of Tshakhuma', 71; pers. commun. from N. Ralushai, April 1977.
147. Mudau, 'Ngoma-lungundu', 25.
148. Mudau, 'The Dau of Tshakhuma', 74.
149. Ibid., 71.
150. Mudau, 'Ngoma-lungundu', 25; Motenga, 'History of the western Venda', 67-8; Stayt, *The Vabenda*, 7-10.
151. Mudau, 'Ngoma-lungundu', 24.
152. Mudau, 'The Dau of Tshakhuma', 74.
153. Ibid., 75.
154. Mudau, 'Ngoma-lungundu', 30; N.J. van Warmelo, 'The Tshitwamamba language', *The Copper Miners*, 92-3.
155. Motenda, 'History of the western Venda', 54-6.
156. Stayt, *The Bavenda*, 192.

157. Ibid., 7. Mamadi, 'History of the Sebola (Tshivula) people', *The Copper Miners*, 88, was probably wrong to link Tshivula with Thoho-ya-Ndou.
158. Motenda, 'History of the western Venda', 51.
159. Mudau, 'The Dau of Tshakhuma', 72.
160. e.g. almost everything that Sicard wrote.
161. E.J. and J.D Krige, *The Realm of a Rain-Queen* (London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1943), 5-6.
162. J.D. Krige, 'Traditional origins and tribal relationships of the Sotho of the Northern Transvaal', *Bantu Studies* (1937), XI, 325.
163. Ibid., 329.
164. Ibid., 336.

CHAPTER 7

1. Manoel Vaz to Governor, 28 June 1688, Goa Arch., Livros das Monções, LIII, 278-v. Conceição, 'Tratado' (1696), *Chronista*, 106; Garlake, 'Excavations at the seventeeth-century Portuguese site at Dambarare', 51.
2. Caetano de Mello de Castro to Viceroy, 26 June 1684, Goa Arch., Livros das Monções, XLIX, 328-30v; Conceição, 'Tratado' (1696), *Chronista*, 105-7, 110-11.
3. S.I. Mudenge, 'The role of foreign trade in the Rozvi empire: A reappraisal', *J. Afr. Hist.* (1974), XV, 380.
4. 'Descripção Corográfica' [*c.*1780], Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Caixa 17.
5. João Julião da Silva, 'Acressentamento, Memória' (1831), ibid., Moç., Maço 21; Pereira, 'Mappa' (1857), *Memória e Documentos*, 296.
6. *Karl Mauch: African Explorer*, ed. F.O. Bernhard (Cape Town, Struik, 1971), 22.
7. F.W.T. Posselt, *Fact and Fiction*, 152.
8. e.g. W.A. Elliott, 'The Ma-Shuna', 112-13.
9. NB/6/1/1/, N/3/33/8, A/3/18/28.
10. M.E. Weale, N.C. Chilimanzi, to C.N.C., Annual Report for 1896, N/9/1/2; A.D. Campbell to C.N.C., 29 Jan. 1896, N/1/1/9; Edwards, 'The Wanoe', 13.
11. Except W.S. Taberer, who combined all the information in N/3/33/8 into a strange mixture that made practically all the Shona 'Rozvi', C.N.C. Mashonaland to C.N.C. Matebeleland, late 1905, A/3/18/28.
12. F.W.T. Posselt, 'Notes on some tribes', *Mambo; A Survey of the Native Tribes of Southern Rhodesia* (Salisbury, Govt of Southern Rhodesia, 1927), *Fact and Fiction*.
13. F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo*, 12.
14. F.W.T. Posselt, *A Survey*, 8.
15. F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo*, 12.
16. Ibid.
17. Bullock, *The Mashona*, 31, 41-2.
18. e.g. 'History of the Samuriwo people . . . 1972', Min. Intern. Affs, Per/5 Samuriwo.
19. Hall, *Great Zimbabwe*, 82-3; Robinson, *Khami Ruins*, 164-5.
20. Beach, 'The historiography of the people of Zimbabwe', 26.
21. K.R. Robinson, 'The archaeology of the Rozwi', in *The Zambesian Past*, 3-27; T.O. Ranger, *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia, 1896-7* (London, Heinemann, 1967), 9-13; Alpers, 'The Mutapa and Malawi political systems', 15-16; N.

Sutherland-Harris, 'Trade and the Rozwi Mambo', in *Precolonial African Trade*, 243-64; Mudenge, 'The role of foreign trade', 373-91; Parsons, 'On the origins of the BamaNgwato', 86-7.

22. Alpers, 'The Mutapa and Malawi political systems', 15-16; Mudenge, 'The role of foreign trade', 377-81.
23. Ranger, *Revolt*, 10-11; R. Summers, *Zimbabwe: A Rhodesian Mystery* (Johannesburg, T. Nelson, 1963), 96.
24. Ranger, *Revolt*, 18; Abraham, 'The roles of "Chaminuka" ', 35-6; Sutherland-Harris, 'Trade and the Rozwi Mambo', 243; Mudenge, 'The role of foreign trade', 381-2; Parsons, 'On the origins of the bamaNgwato', 86.
25. Ranger, *Revolt*, 44; Mudenge, 'The role of foreign trade', 376.
26. Sutherland-Harris, 'Trade and the Rozwi Mambo', 244-5; Mudenge, 'The role of foreign trade', 382-4.
27. Mudenge, 'The role of foreign trade', 382.
28. Ranger, *Revolt*, 10; Sutherland-Harris, 'Trade and the Rozwi Mambo', 243.
29. Robinson, 'The archaeology of the Rozwi', 23-4; Ranger, *Revolt*, 10; Alpers, 'The Mutapa and Malawi political systems', 16.
30. Sutherland-Harris, 'Trade and the Rozwi Mambo', 243-4; Mudenge, 'The role of foreign trade', 378-8.
31. Sutherland-Harris, 'Trade and the Rozwi Mambo', 244-5.
32. Ranger, *Revolt*, 13; Sutherland-Harris, 'Trade and the Rozwi Mambo', 245.
33. Ranger, *Revolt*, 289-92.
34. Mudenge, 'An identification of the Rozvi', 1931; 'The Rozvi Empire and the *Feira* of Zumbo', 86, 94; and 'The role of foreign trade', *passim*; Beach, 'The historiography of the people of Zimbabwe', 27-8.
35. See above, reference 1.
36. 'Descripção Corográfica' [*c.1780*], Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Caixa 17.
37. See below pp. 267-70.
38. More particularly in the mid-twentieth century.
39. A. Marwodzi (translated by F.P.), 'The Barozwi', *NADA* (1924), II, 88-91. The writer of this was obviously a Rozvi living in a predominantly Zezuru area. The only likely candidate for this was Aron Marwodzi, who left the Bikita Rozvi in his youth and settled in the Marandellas district, where Fritz (F.W.T.) Posselt was N.C. He mixed with a number of men from different areas at Waddilove, and taught in the southern part of the district where the Mbava, Mavudzi and other Rozvi groups then lived. His work shows a conscious attempt to relate Rozvi history to that of the Shona as a whole. For details, see W.R. Peaden, 'Nenguwo Training Institution and the first Shona teachers', in A.J. Dachs (ed.), *Christianity South of the Zambezi* (Gwelo, Mambo Press, 1973), 75-7, 81.
40. M.V.J. Rukara was for years the more or less official historian of the Gumunyu faction of the Rozvi in Bikita, a combined group of the Chirisamhuru houses which sought to overcome the Jiri Dynasty. He did research among the Venda, tried to integrate his work with the known archaeology and came up with a southern origin for the Rozvi, who were seen as related to the Nguni and Sotho as well as to the Venda. The Rozvi place-name Samanyai was variously seen as a Biblical or South African place-name, and so on. Rukara's synthesis was adopted by the Gumunyu group, which lobbied visiting researchers such as K.R. Robinson, or visited the National Archives of Rhodesia (Hist. Mss Colln, Misc/RU4/1/1); Fortune, 'A Rozvi text'; Robinson, 'A history of the Bikita District'; K.R. Robinson to P.N.C. Victoria, 24 Apr. 1954 and N.C. Bikita to P.N.C. Victoria, 4 May 1962, Min. Intern. Affs, Per/5 Jiri; and Delin. Rep., Bikita, 1964: Jiri-Gumunyu; L.H. Gann, *A History of Southern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1934* (London, Chatto & Windus, 1965), 30; Latham, 'Dzimbadzemabgwe', 27-8. Although the Gumunyu house believes passionately in its tradition (pers. commun. from Mr T.S. Nyikadzinashe Gumunyu, London, 1971) it will be seen from the text that it has not been found possible to accept the main contention of the Gumunyu, that the Rozvi came from the south; nor have the Bikita traditions been used to any great extent, for the bitterness of the inter-Rozvi feuds was such that there was widespread lobbying and alignment of Rozvi even outside Bikita, N.C. Bikita memo. n.d. [*c.*1956], D.C. Bikita to P.C. Victoria, 15 Mar. 1963, Min. Intern. Affs, Per/5 Jiri; N.C. Buhera to P.N.C. Salisbury, 15 Apr. 1958, ibid., Per/5 Chingombe; S. Nenguwo, 'Oral work among the Rozvi: A few notes' in *The History of the Central African Peoples* (Lusaka, Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Seventeenth Conference, 1963). The Rukara version of Rozvi history was taken seriously by two workers, however. Harald von Sicard moved away from his original — and correct — idea of the Rozvi as a group that arose within the Shona language group to believe that there had been a second group of 'southern Rozvi' and up to his death he was promising to write about them (Sicard, 'The Jawunda', 108-9, 110, 115, 117, 123; 'Ruins and their traditions on the Lower Mzingwane', 50-1; 'Chikwarakwara Chauke and his people', *NADA* (1971), X, iii, 97). The other was Aeneas Chigwedere, who picked up the story in Wedza, and incorporated it in some of his early drafts of his Shona history.
41. N.C. Lomagundi to C.N.C., 25 Jan. 1932, S138/22; N.C. Bikita memo. n.d. [*c.*1956], Min. Intern. Affs, Per/5 Jiri; N.C. Buhera to P.N.C. Salisbury, 15 Apr. 1958, ibid., Per/5 Chingombe; Abraham, 'The roles of "Chaminuka" ', 32.
42. *Mugabe Reader: Shumo* (Morgenster, Morgenster Mission Press, 1942).
43. Mudenge, 'An identification of the Rozvi', 26-7; Liesegang, 'New light on Venda traditions', 171; 'Descripção Corográfica' [*c.*1780], Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Caixa 17.
44. See above, Chapter 4.
45. F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo*, 3.
46. See above, reference 40.
47. Caetano de Mello de Castro to Viceroy, 26 June 1684, Goa Arch., Livros das Monções, XLIX, 328-30v; Conceição, 'Tratado' (1696), 105-6; Dionízio de Mello de Castro, 'Notícia' (1763), *Anais*, 133; 'Descripção Corográfica' [*c.*1780], Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Caixa 17; Ferrão, 'Account' [*c.*1810], *Records*, VII, 377.
48. W.A. Elliott, 'The Ma-Shuna', 110; T.M. Thomas to C.N.C., 16 May 1906, A/3/18/28.
49. Lanning to C.N.C., 21 Apr. 1906, A/3/18/28; C.T. Stuart to C.N.C., 16 Feb. 1960, A/3/18/28.
50. J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo*, 3, 10; *Fact and Fiction*, 140; A.D. Campbell to C.N.C., 29 Jan. 1896 in N/1/1/9; Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Texts 106-7 Rse; Muhlanga and Lloyd, 'Mbava', 62; E.M. Lloyd and S. Muhlanga, 'Mbava and others', *NADA* (1926), IV, 91. All of these sources name the modern Marandellas, Mrewa and Mtoko districts as the earliest centre of the Rozvi.
51. See above, Chapter 2.

52. F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo*, 19; Muhlanga and Lloyd, 'Mbava and others', 91; F.W.T. Posselt, 'The tree in the religious ritual of the Bantu of Southern Rhodesia', *Man* (1939), XXXIX, 126.
53. J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; F.G. Elliott to C.N.C., 19 May 1906, A/3/18/28; C.T. Stuart to C.N.C., 15 Feb. 1906, in A/3/18/28; F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo*, 4, and *Fact and Fiction*, 141-2, 145; Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Texts 106-7 Rse. All of these name Dombolakonachingwango or Chikurawadyembewu as the first Rozvi ruler of the south-west, though Stuart heard that they were two successive rulers, and F.W.T. Posselt apparently did not realize that his accounts on pp.141-2 and 143-5 of *Fact and Fiction* described the same event. For the use of the 'Dyembeu' title as an alternative to 'Mambo' or 'Changamire', see Freitas, 'Memorandum', Public Record Office, London F.O. 179/279, 57, S.N.G. Jackson to C.N.C., 31 Mar. 1898, NB/6/1/1; J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; F.G. Elliott to C.N.C., 19 May 1906, A/3/18/28; Stayt, *The BaVenda*, 12, 15; N.J. van Warmelo *Contributions towards Venda History, Religion and Tribal Ritual* (Pretoria, Dep. of Native Affairs, Ethnological Publication No. 3, 1932), 6-10; Mudau, 'Ngomalungundu', *The Copper Miners*, 24ff; Dzivhani, 'The Chiefs of Venda', ibid., 33; Motenda, 'History of the Western Venda', ibid., 52; a great number of individual references from Shona informants in Sicard, 'Mambo Dyembeu'; Fortune, 'A Rozvi text', 80-2; Robinson, 'A history of the Bikita District', 77; Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Bikita, 1964: Jiri-Gumunyu; ibid., Delin, Rep. Buhera, 1965: Chingombe. The basic concept offered here, that the 'Dyembeu' title was originally used by a semi-historical Chikurawadyembewu equivalent to Dombolakonachingwango and then by successive members of the Rozvi dynasty in the Shona and Venda countries, appears to be the simplest and most probable version. Sicard's theory that Dyembeu was a member of a line of earlier *soko* Mambos, or Abraham's relegation of Chikurawadyembewu to the late fourteenth century, do not appear to fit the overall framework of Shona history nearly as well; see Beach, 'The Mutapa dynasty'.
54. J.W. Posselt to C.N.C. *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo*, 4.
55. F.W.T. Posselt, *Fact and Fiction*, 141-2; M. Gelfand, *Shona Ritual* (Cape Town, Juta, 1959), 30-1; Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Texts 106-7 Rse.
56. *Karl Mauch: African Explorer*, 221; J.W. Posselt to C.N.C. *c.*1 Jan. 104 in N/3/33/8; A.D. Campbell to C.N.C., 29 Jan. 1896, N/1/1/9; Hemans, 'History of the Abenanzwa tribe', 86, Lloyd and Muhlanga, 'Mbava', 63; Muhlanga and Lloyd, 'Mbava and others', 92; Parsons, 'On the origins of the bamaNgwato', 87.
57. Manoel Vaz to Governor, 28 June 1688, Goa Arch., Livros das Monções, LIII, 278-v.
58. Ferrão, 'Account' [*c.*1810], *Records*, VII, 377, claimed that the Changamire had been a son of the Mutapa, but this was contradicted by a tradition collected from approximately the same period and area, which made him the Mutapa's son-in-law, João Julião da Silva, 'Memória' [*c.*1836-47], Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Caixa 2, cited in Randles, *L'Empire du Monomotapa*, 18. Gumunyu Rozvi traditions do link the two dynasties, but see above references 40 and 42.
59. Conceição, 'Tratado' (1696), *Chronista*, 105; 'Dionízio de Mello de Castro, 'Notícia' (1763), *Anais*, 133; 'Descripção Corográfica' [*c.*1780], Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Caixa 17.
60. See ibid. and Caetano de Mello de Castro to Viceroy, 26 June 1684, Goa Arch., Livros das Monções, XLIX, 328-30v; Manoel Vaz to Governor, 28 June 1688, ibid., LIII, 278-v.
61. Caetano de Mello de Castro to King, 24 July 1685, Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Caixa 2, cited in Mudenge, 'The role of foreign trade', 380.
62. 'Descripção Corográfica' [*c.*1780], Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Caixa 17.
63. See above, Chapter 3, reference 21.
64. Conceição, 'Tratado' (1696), *Chronista*, 105-6.
65. Manoel Vaz to Governor, 28 June 1688, Goa Arch., Livros das Monções, LIII, 278-v., Miguel de Almeida's claim that the Changamire was the master of most of the Mutapa state must be set against the increased Portuguese settlement of the same period; see Axelson, *Portuguese . . . 1600-1700*, 180.
66. See above, Chapter 4.
67. Conceição, 'Tratado' (1696), *Chronista*, 106-11; Assumpção, 'Breve informação' [*c.*1698], Bibl. da Ajuda, 51-VIII-40, 270/2; Manoel Rebello, 'Proposta que fizerão os Moradores dos Rios de Cuama ao Senhor V. Rev.' 27 June 1698', ibid., 284/2.
68. Axelson, *Portuguese . . . 1600-1700*, 184.
69. See above, Chapter 4, references 28 and 29.
70. e.g. Alpers, 'The Mutapa and Malawi political systems', 15.
71. Ibid.
72. See above, Chapter 6.
73. Anon., 'Descripção' (1683), Bibl. da Ajuda, 51-VIII-43, fl.474; Conceição, 'Tratado' (1696), *Chronista*, 105; Mudenge, 'The Rozvi Empire and the *Feira* of Zumbo', 65.
74. J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo*, 10; Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep., Text 107 Rse.
75. C.T. Stuart to C.N.C., 16 Feb. 1906, A/3/18/28; F.W.T. Posselt, *Fact and Fiction*, 141-2; Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Texts 106-7 Rse.
76. Bullock, *The Mashona*, 40-1; F.W.T. Posselt, *Fact and Fiction*, 141-2.
77. J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Text 106 Rse; Conceição, 'Tratado' (1690), *Chronista*, 68.
78. C.T. Stuart to C.N.C., 16 Feb. 1906, A/3/18/28; Stuart's informants of 1906 were explicit that Ndumba ruled west of the Bembesi, throughout the Changamire state period. Sicard, 'The Jawunda', 124, and Robinson, *Khami Ruins*, 160, both make Ndumba a ruler who was driven out before Chiwunduru, but these much later accounts do not allow for the geographical distinction implied by Stuart.
79. F.W.T. Posselt, *Fact and Fiction*, 142-3; Fortune, 'A Rozvi text', 72; Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Text 106 Rse.
80. Randall-MacIver, *Mediaeval Rhodesia*, 54.
81. J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; F.G. Elliott to C.N.C., 19 May 1906, A/3/18/28; T.M. Thomas to C.N.C., 16 May 1906, ibid.; Lanning to C.N.C., 21 Apr. 1906, ibid.; C.T. Stuart to C.N.C., 16 Feb. 1906, ibid.
82. João Julião da Silva, 'Accressentamento' (1831), Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Maço 21; Randall-MacIver, *Mediaeval Rhodesia*, 53.
83. Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Text 106 Rse.
84. J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; H.M.G. Jackson to C.N.C., 28 May 1906, A/3/18/28; T.M. Thomas to C.N.C., 16 May 1906, ibid.; Lanning to C.N.C., 21 Apr. 1906, ibid.; W.E. Thomas, N.C. Tegwani, to C.N.C., 5 Mar. 1906, ibid.; Stuart to C.N.C., 16 Feb. 1906, ibid.

85. Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Beitbridge, 1966: Rozvi; Liesegang, 'New light on Venda traditions', 171.
86. Sicard, 'The origins . . . Belingwe Reserve: 9', 60; 'The Jawunda', 108-9'; 'Ruins and their traditions on the Lower Mzingwane', 64; Bhila, 'Trade and the survival', 22.
87. Parsons, 'On the origins of the bamaNgwato', 89.
88. W.A. Elliott, 'The Ma-Shuna', 111; S.N.G. Jackson to C.N.C., 31 Mar. 1898, NB/6/1/1; J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; H.M.G. Jackson to C.N.C., 28 May 1906, A/3/18/28; F.G. Elliott to C.N.C., 19 May 1906, ibid., T.M. Thomas to C.N.C., 16 May 1906, ibid.; Lanning to C.N.C., 21 Apr. 1906, ibid.; Stuart to C.N.C., 16 Feb. 1906, A/3/18/28; F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo*, 5, 9; E.G. Howman, 'The traditional history and customs and the Makaranga (Warozwi)', *Report of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science, Sixteenth Annual Meeting . . . 1918* (Cape Town, The Association, 1919), 385; Dornan, 'Rhodesian ruins', 507-8; the traditions are partly confused by the adoption of the name 'Rozvi' by such Torwa groups as Chihunduru and Tumbare in later years, but they lay the greatest stress upon Danangombe as the main capital, it being known as the 'Zimbabwe'. Manyanga was known as the 'little Zimbabwe'. Silva, 'Accressentamento' (1831), Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Maço 21, makes it clear that at that time, the Changamire capital was south of Manyanga. Significantly, these sources barely mention Khami.
89. J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8.
90. Rebello, 'Proposta' (1689), Bibl. da Ajuda, 51-VIII-40, 284/2; Viceroy to King, 14 Nov. 1704, Goa Arch., Livros das Monções, LXVIII, 191-2.
91. J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; F.W.T. Posselt, *Fact and Fiction*, 145; W.A. Elliott, 'The Ma-Shuna', 11.
92. Stuart to C.N.C., 16 Feb. 1906.
93. F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo*, 4, rearranged J.W. Posselt's list by putting Nechasike first, probably because the name means 'creator'.
94. W.A. Elliott, 'The Ma-Shuna', 111; J.W. Posselt, to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; F.G. Elliott to C.N.C., 19 May 1906, A/3/18/28; F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo*, 4; Mudenge, 'The Rozvi Empire and the *Feira* of Zumbo', 264.
95. Mudenge, 'The Rozvi Empire and the *Feira* of Zumbo', 264; J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo*, 4-5; but for a quite different interpretation of Rupandamananga's name, see S.E. Morris, 'The origin of some Mashona names of chiefs and places', *NADA* (1932), X, 20. The label 'Rupengo' is also used in different places in the Changamire ruler-list, as in F.G. Elliott to C.N.C., 19 May 1906, A/3/18/28; Marwodzi, 'The Barozwi', 90; Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Text 106 Rse. Since, as pointed out below, Mutinhima was probably *mwana* to Changamire Gumboremvura and not necessarily 'Son', Mudenge's dating of the break between Rupandamananga's and Gumboremvura's reigns to 1795-1802 is not proven, Mudenge, 'The Rozvi Empire and the *Feira* of Zumbo', 288-91. The whole assignation of dates to the Changamire ruler-list made here is very tentative.
96. F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo*, 5; an independent study of Mhari history would tend to put the death of Rupandamananga in the early nineteenth century; see Beach, *Shona Dynastic Histories*.
97. W.A. Elliott, 'The Ma-Shuna', 111-13; S.N.G. Jackson to C.N.C., 31 Mar. 1898, NB/6/1/1; J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; H.M.G. Jackson to C.N.C., 28 May 1906, A/3/18/28; F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo*, 5-6; a minority of accounts made Mutinhima the last Mambo (Morris to C.N.C., 1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; Stuart to C.N.C., 16 Feb. 1906, A/3/18/28) but even some Mutinhima versions among the majority admitted that the Mutinhima house was not the main Changamire lineage, e.g. F.G. Elliott to C.N.C, 19 May 1906, A/3/18/28.

98. T.M. Thomas to C.N.C., 16 May 1906, A/3/18/28; Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Que Que, 1963: Lukuluba; Elliott to C.N.C., 19 May 1906, Lanning to C.N.C., 21 Apr. 1906, A/3/18/28; Stuart to C.N.C., 16 Feb. 1906, ibid.; F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo*, 6.
99. Mudenge, 'The Rozvi Empire and the *Feira* of Zumbo', 288-91; J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8.
100. F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo*, 5; Helm Report, 1891, Argief van die N.G. Kerk in Suid Afrika, Cape Town; N.C. Ndanga to C.N.C., 2 Mar. 1897, N/1/1/8.
101. T.M. Thomas, *Eleven Years*, 165; Ngungu, 2, Hist. Mss Colln, WI/8/1/1; 'Mziki' [pseud. A.A. Campbell], *Mlimo* (Pietermaritzburg, Natal Witness, 1926), 85; S.N.G. Jackson to C.N.C., 31 Mar. 1898, NB/6/1/1; F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo*, 6; Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Gatooma, 1966: Wozhele; Aquina, 'The tribes in Chilimanzi', 41; Fortune, 'A Rozvi text', 72; Motenda, 'History of the western Venda', 52; Mudenge, 'The Rozvi Empire and the *Feira* of Zumbo), 288-91.
102. J.F. Holleman, *Shona Customary Law* (Cape Town, Oxford Univ. Press, 1952), 67.
103. F.W.T. Posselt, *Fact and Fiction*, 141; N.C. Rusape to C.N.C., 26 May 1937, Min. Intern. Affs, Per/5 Chiduku; Fortune, 'A Rozvi text', 76; Gelfand, *Shona Ritual*, 30-1; Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Text 106-7 Rse.
104. The Nerwande praise-name *simboti* was used by the 'priests at the Mutapa court in the eighteenth century, but no definite connection between the two can be shown, Dionízio de Mello de Castro, 'Notícia' (1763), *Anais* 135; Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Text 107 Rse.
105. Stuart to C.N.C., 16 Feb. 1906, A/3/18/28.
106. F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo*, 5.
107. J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; Marwodzi, 'The Barozwi', 88; F.W.T. Posselt, 'Chaminuka the Wizard', *NADA* (1926), IV, 35; F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo*, 3, and *Fact and Fiction*, 141; Fortune, 'A Rozvi text', 72.
108. Howman, 'The traditional history and customs of the Makaranga', 387; Lloyd and Muhlanga, 'Mbava and others', 91; Sebina, 'Makalaka', 85.
109. 'Descripção Corográfica' [*c.*1780], Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Caixa 17; Mudenge, 'The Rozvi Empire and the *Feira* of Zumbo', 291.
110. Stuart to C.N.C., 16 Feb. 1906, A/3/18/28.
111. Marwodzi, 'The Barozwi', 90.
112. N.G. 'Magango Hutari', *NADA* (1933), XI, 30; Sicard, 'The origin . . . Belingwe Reserve: 5', 99-100; Fortune, 'A Rozvi text', 72. It should be noted that there are contradictory explanations for the well-known song, *'Dayi asi Tumbare'* — see Howman, 'The traditional history and customs of the Makaranga', 387.
113. Nenguwo, 'Oral work among the Rozvi', 7.
114. F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo*, 10; Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Text 106 Rse.
115. Stuart to C.N.C., 16 Feb. 1906, A/3/18/28; Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Gatooma, 1964: Chikowore.
116. Stuart to C.N.C., 16 Feb. 1906, A/3/18/28.

117. J.W.T. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Texts 10j, 10L, 10o Swe.
118. Stuart to C.N.C., 16 Feb. 1905, A/3/18/28; Parsons, 'On the origins of the bamaNgwato', 87.
119. Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Text 10 Czi.
120. White, 'Esitshebeni', 18-29.
121. Ibid., 116-17, 121.
122. Aquina, 'The tribes in Chilimanzi', 40.
123. Sicard, 'The origin . . . Belingwe Reserve: 2', 95; Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Belingwe, 1965: Mahlebadza; ibid., Per/5 Mahlebadza.
124. Beach, *Shona Dynastic Histories*, Chapter 4.
125. S.N.G. Jackson, to C.N.C., 31 Mar. 1898, NB/6/1/1.
126. Mudenge, 'The role of foreign trade', 380.
127. 'Descripção Corográfica' [*c.*1780], Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Caixa 17.
128. Mudenge, 'The role of foreign trade', 380.
129. Stuart to C.N.C. 16 Feb. 1905, and F.G. Elliott to C.N.C. 19 May 1906, A/3/18/28.
130. Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Binga, 1965: Dobola, Kavura and Saba; D.N. Beach, 'The Adendorff Trek in Shona history', *South African Historical Journal*, (1971), III, 30.
131. S.N.G. Jackson to C.N.C., 31 Mar. 1898, NB/6/1/1; Marwodzi, 'The Barozwi', 89-91; Lloyd and Muhlanga, 'Mbava', 62.
132. Sutherland-Harris, 'Trade and the Rozwi Mambo', 243.
133. Mudenge, 'The role of foreign trade', 384-6.
134. Pereira, 'Mappa' (1857), *Memória e Documentos*, 296.
135. Phimister, 'Alluvial gold mining', 447; F.G. Elliott, to C.N.C., 19 May 1906, and Stuart to C.N.C., 16 Feb. 1906, A/3/18/28.
136. F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo*, 4, 12; Fortune,. 'A Rozvi text', 80. The objection to sources such as these is that the informants were probably Rozvi themselves. There is little doubt that the Rozvi did exact tribute, but Rozvi claims by themselves do not constitute proof.
137. H.M.G. Jackson to C.N.C., 28 May 1906, A/3/18/28.
138. Pereira, 'Mappa' (1857), *Memória e Documentos*, 296.
139. W.A. Elliott, 'The Ma-Shuna', 113; J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo*, 4.
140. Silva, 'Accressentamento' (1831), Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Maço 21; Randall-MacIver, *Mediaeval Rhodesia*, 53.
141. See above, reference 139; Stuart to C.N.C., 16 Feb. 1906, A/3/18/28, implies that such raids were rare in the latter decades of the state.
142. Mudenge, 'The role of foreign trade', 389.
143. Ibid.
144. F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo*, 9; see above, reference 95.
145. F.W.T. Posselt, *Fact and Fiction*, 152; *Karl Mauch*, 218; W.A. Elliott, 'The Ma-Shuna', 112-13 (two versions); J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; Howman, 'The traditional history and customs of the Makaranga', 387-8; F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo*, 15; Sebina, 'Makalaka', 85-91.
146. J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8.
147. F.W.T. Posselt, *Fact and Fiction*, 142; Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Texts 106-7 Rsc specifically link the 'voice' that spoke to Chikurawadyembewu to that of Mwari; Gelfand, *Shona Ritual*, 31, puts Chaminuka in the equivalent position; Muchetera lived in the same area as Posselt's and my informants.

148. Nachtigall, in F.W.T. Posselt, *Fact and Fiction*, 152; Mudau, 'Ngoma lungundu', 11-17.
149. W.A. Elliott, 'The Ma-Shuna', 112; J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo*, 15; Howman, 'The traditional history and customs of the Makaranga', 387-8.
150. W.A. Elliott, 'The Ma-Shuna', 113; *Karl Mauch: African Explorer*, 218.
151. e.g. the rest of the traditions in NB/6/1/1 and A/3/18/28.
152. J.R. Cobbing, 'Ndebele Religion in the Nineteenth Century' (Univ. Rhod. Dep. Hist., Henderson Seminar Paper 28, 1974), 15.
153. G. Fortune, 'Who was Mwari?', *Rhod. Hist.* (1973), IV, 6-10.
154. Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Texts 100-1 Gzi.
155. M.L. Daneel, *The God of the Matopo Hills* (The Hague, Mouton, 1970), *passim*; R.G. Mwanza, 'Mwari: The God of the Karanga' (Lusaka, Conference on the History of Central African Religious Systems, paper presented, 1972); J.M. Schoffeleers, 'An Organizational Model of the Mwari shrines' (unpubl. paper, 1973); Cobbing, 'Ndebele Religion', 12-20; on the dual loyalties of the personnel of the local representatives, see, 'Diary of the Tshewase Station', 19 July 1892, Hist. Mss Colln, BE/2/1/1; H. Franklin, 'Manyusa (Amanxusa)', *NADA* (1932), X, 77-8.
156. J. Blake-Thompson and R. Summers, 'Mlimo and Mwari', *NADA* (1956), XXXIII, 53-8; Ranger, *Revolt*, 21-4.
157. Beach, 'Great Zimbabwe as a Mwari-cult centre', 11-13.
158. Cobbing, 'Ndebele Religion', 15-18; the officials of the Wirirani shrine, for example, which deals with a largely Karanga public, are of Venda descent with the Ndebele *isibongo* of *ncube*. On speaking to visitors such as Dr M.L. Daneel from the Karanga area (Gutu), however, they claim to be Karanga, translating *ncube* as *shoko* and linking *shoko* with the Mbire people (Daneel, *The God of the Matopo Hills*, 46). The widespread but apparently unfounded automatic link made by many southern Shona between the totem *shoko* and the lineage-name Mbire is explained in Beach, *Shona Dynastic Histories*.
159. Cobbing, 'Ndebele Religion'.
160. Mtetwa, 'The "Political" and Economic History of the Duma', 90-146.
161. Ranger, *Revolt*, 204-5, with special reference to the documents cited.
162. Evidence of Chingombe *et al.*, 13 July 1896, A/1/12/27; Brabant to Administrator, 27 Aug. 1894, 1/2/3/43; Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. 40 Ctr.
163. See above, reference 150.
164. Howman, 'Makaranga', 386-7.
165. Fortune, 'A Rozvi text', 82.
166. See above, Chapter 6.
167. Stayt, *The Bavenda*, 230-6; Tshakoma Station diary, 28 Nov. 1887, Hist. Mss Colln, B/2/1/1.
168. See ibid. and 'Diary of the Tshewase Station', 19 July 1892, Hist. Mss Colln, BE/2/1/1.
169. T.O. Ranger, 'The meaning of Mwari', *Rhod. Hist.* (1974), V, 5-17.
170. Ranger's argument on the former existence of initiation among the Shona (ibid., 12) is based upon H. von Sicard, 'Die Initiation im Monomotapa Reich', *Ethnos* (1941), I-II, 42-7; Junod, 'Notes on the ethnological situation', 297, and Sicard 'The origin . . . Belingwe Reserve: 9', 55. None of these sources support this conclusion. Sicard's 'initiation' in the Mutapa state refers mainly to the occasional concentration of the sons of politically important

figures at the Mutapa court in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and to *nyai*-training in the nineteenth century, not to initiation as it is generally understood. Junod refers to the Makombe dynasty of Barwe, where an originally Shona dynasty from the Mutapa state — Mbire I or II — settled among the Lower Zambezi Tonga and became Tonga-speaking. Any tradition concerning the original customs of the Shona component would have to be referring to the fifteenth century, and Junod's belief that, because the modern Lower Zambezi Tonga outside Barwe claimed never to have had circumcision, therefore the Barwe circumcision must be of Shona origin, must be placed against definite sixteenth-century statements that one of the major differences between the Shona and their neighbours was that the former did not circumcise. Sicard's claim that the Mbedzi dynasty of Matibi practises initiation is perfectly understandable, since their dynasty immigrated from Venda in the early nineteenth century.

171. Ranger, 'The meaning of Mwari', 13-14 and Rennie, 'From Zimbabwe to a colonial chieftaincy . . . Musikavanhu', refer to an association of the pre-Singo Tavhatsinde ruler of the Venda with Mwari, but most of the sources, especially Stayt, *The Bavenda*, 231, link them with Raluvhimba. The religious name Thovela, now widely associated with the Mwari of the cave-cult (Fortune, 'Who was Mwari?', 13-15), appears to belong to the earliest, i.e. Venda-speaking, component of Venda society (Stayt, *The Bavenda*, 112-13, 236) and to represent — in Venda thinking — an early Venda ancestor ruler, which tallies with the reports collected in the 1720s at Delagoa Bay of a supreme ruler over an inland area named 'Inthowelle', Smith, 'Delagoa Bay', 275. This reconstruction would start 'Thovela' as a Venda, possibly Tavhatsinde ruler-ancestor figure who was then linked with the Mwari ruler-ancestor figure high-god of the incoming Rozvi and then exported to the Matopo hills as an alternative name for the Mwari of the cave-cult, there to be confused, by the 1950s, with the original high-god Mwari.
172. Marwodzi, 'The Barozwi', 90; N.C. Rusape to C.N.C., 29 Dec. 1930, and 17 Nov. 1931, S138/22; Lloyd and Muhlanga, 'Mbava and others', 93, especially link the Mavudzi line with religion, probably in the form of the myth seen in the works cited in references 75 and 103, which supply the rest of the evidence for this paragraph.
173. Ibid.
174. Silva, 'Accressentamento' (1831), Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Maço 21; Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Text 106 Rse.
175. *Karl Mauch: African Explorer*, 215-17; F. Edwards to J. Godwin Edwards, 19 Sept. 1892, Hist. Mss Colln, ED1/1/1; for the modern view of some dynasties. mostly *moyo*, Rozvi or both in origin and living near the *moyo* nuclea area, that Mwari was a Rozvi ancestor figure, see Fortune, 'Who was Mwari?', 13.
176. See above, Chapter 2.
177. J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Charter, 1964: Musarurwa; Beach, *Shona Dynastic Histories*.
178. Mudenge, 'The role of foreign trade', 384, citing an early work by me written at a time when I was more disposed to accept the idea of a Rozvi 'empire' than I am now.
179. Beach, *Shona Dynastic Histories*, Chapter 3.
180. Ibid.
181. Edwards, 'The Wanoe', 13; Abraham, 'The principality of Maungwe', 65-6.

182. Chanaiwa, 'History of the Nhowe', 117-18.
183. Beach, *Shona Dynastic Histories*, Chapter 3.
184. Weale to C.N.C., Annual Report 1896, N/9/1/2; Mudenge, 'The role of foreign trade', 384, citing Sr Mary Aquina Weinrich. I suspect that she may have drawn upon Weale.
185. This entire section on the Ndau is based upon Rennie, 'Christianity . . . among the Ndau'.
186. Ferrão, 'Account' [*c.*1810], *Records*, VII, 377-8.
187. Rennie, 'Christianity . . . among the Ndau', Chapter 1.
188. A.D. Campbell to C.N.C., 29 Jan. 1896, N/1/1/9; J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; Edwards, 'The Wanoe', 13.
189. Beach, *Shona Dynastic Histories*, Chapter 3.
190. Hemans, 'History of the Abenanzwa', 85-90, and *The Log of a Native Commissioner* (London, H.F. and G. Witherby, 1935), 139; F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo*, 4-7; Robinson, *Khami Ruins*, 161-2; Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Wankie, 1965, Wange.
191. See ibid. and Farrer to C.N.C., 21 Feb. 1906, A/3/18/28; Coley, 'The fate of the last Bashankwe chief', 65-6; Tapson, 'Some notes on the Mrozwi occupation of the Sebungwe District', 29-32; F. Marr, 'Some notes on Chief Sileya (Chireya: Shona), Gokwe-District, S. Rhodesia', *NADA* (1962), XXXIX, 81-4; Parkinson, 'The Vashangwe of Chief Chireya, Gokwe', 20-1; Sutherland-Harris, 'Trade and the Rozwi Mambo', 257; B.A. Kosmin, 'The Inyoka tobacco industry of the Shangwe people', in R.H. Palmer and Q.N. Parsons (eds), *The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa* (London, Heinemann, 1977), 268-88.
192. M. Mainga, *Bulozi under the Luyana Kings* (London, Longmans, 1973), 5-6, 128.
193. *Gold and the Gospel*, 77; A.D. Campbell to C.N.C., 29 Jan. 1896, N/1/1/9; Hemans, 'History of the Abenanzwa', 86; Marwodzi, 'The Barozwi', 89; Fortune, 'A Rozvi text', 72; Robinson, 'A history of the Bikita District', 85-6.
194. F. Coillard, *On the Threshold of Central Africa* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1897), 224; Mainga, *Bulozi*, 13-14.
195. Lestrade, 'Some notes on the ethnic history of Bavenda', 491; Motenda, 'History of the western Venda', 52-64; Tshakoma Diary, 23 July 1888, Hist. Mss Colln, BE/2/1/1. Traditions of a much more tropical origin cited in some but not all Singo traditions probably come from labour migrants' stories of Lake Malawi and the Zambezi mouth, which would have begun to be heard by the Venda from the 1870s onwards.
196. Mudau, 'Ngoma lungundu', 11-21.
197. Ibid., 17-24; van Warmelo, *Contributions towards Venda History*, 6.
198. See above, Chapter 6.
199. Stayt, *The Bavenda*, 12-13; Mudau, 'Ngoma lungundu', 23-4; Dzivhani, 'The chiefs of Venda', 34; Motenda, 'History of western Venda', 52-3.
200. Lestrade, 'Some notes on the ethnic history of the Bavenda'; Stayt, *The Bavenda, passim*; M. Wilson, 'The Sotho, Venda and Tsonga', *The Oxford History of the South Africa*, I, 167-75.
201. S.N.G. Jackson to C.N.C., 31 Mar. 1898, NB/6/1/1; J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. N/3/33/8.
202. e.g. Mphephu was called Thoho-ya-ndou by the Venda people north of the Limpopo, Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Beitbridge, 1966; 'Venda'.

203. Mudau, 'Ngoma lungundu', 23-32; van Warmelo, *Contributions towards Venda History*, 5-10.
204. Stayt, *The Bavenda*, 12-16; Dzivhani, 'The chiefs of Venda', 33-9; Motenda, 'History of the western Venda', 52-4.
205. Stayt, *The Bavenda*, 15; Motenda, 'History of the western Venda', 52-3.
206. Stayt, *The Bavenda*, 13; Mudau, 'Ngoma lungundu', 30; Diary of the Tshewase station, 20 June 1892, Hist. Mss Colln, BE2/1/1.
207. Stayt, *The Bavenda*, 15-16; Dzivhani, 'The chiefs of Venda', 37; Motenda, 'History of western Venda', 54; the Venda rulers did not have positional titles to the same extent as the Shona, and many rulers had several names, so that here the most famous of the earlier ruler's names has been used for the whole dynasty. Thus, Rasithu=Munzhedzi=Revele=Ramabulana d.1864, father of Makhado Tshigevhedu d.1895, father of Mphephu d.1924. This is not a complete genealogy.
208. Mudau, 'Ngoma lungundu', 24-6; Stayt, *The Bavenda*, 15.
209. Stayt, *The Bavenda*, 15; Dzivhani, 'The chiefs of Venda', 37.
210. Mudau, 'Ngoma lungundu', 30; Stayt, *The Bavenda*, 13; Dzivhani, 'The chiefs of Venda', 34; Motenda, 'History of the western Venda', 54.
211. Mudau, 'Ngoma lungundu', 17, 24, 26-30; Dzivhani, 'The chiefs of Venda', 34-5.
212. Van Warmelo, *Contributions towards Venda History*, 12; Stayt, *The Bavenda*, 17; Dzivhani, 'The chiefs of Venda, 37-8.
213. Stayt, *The Bavenda*, 101-41, 230-36.
214. Ibid., 15-16; Mudau, 'Ngoma lungundu', 31-2; Dzivhani, 'The chiefs of Venda', 37-9; Motenda, 'History of the western Venda', 54-5.
215. Cobbing, 'The Ndebele under the Khumalos', 43.
216. Silva, 'Accressentamento' (1831), Arq. Hist. Ultramar., Moç., Maço 21.
217. Parsons, 'On the origins of the bamaNgwato', 95-6; W.E. Elliott, 'The Ma-Shuna', 113, mentions a Changamire-Ngwato war at about this time.
218. H.M.G. Jackson, F.G. Elliott, T.M. Thomas in A/3/18/28; Marwodzi, 'The Barozwi', 88; Fortune, 'A Rozvi text', 72; Robinson, 'A history of the Bikita District', 79.
219. Liesegang, 'Nguni migrations', 319-21; *Karl Mauch: African Explorer*, 218; T.M. Thomas to C.N.C., 16 May 1906, A/3/18/28; Marwodzi, 'The Barozwi', 88; Fortune, 'A Rozvi text', 72; Robinson, 'A history of the Bikita district', 78.
220. T.M. Thomas to C.N.C., 16 May 1906, A/3/18/28; S.N.G. Jackson to C.N.C., 31 Mar. 1898, NB/6/1/1. See also above, Chapter 4, J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., N/3/33/8; Zwangendaba was the best-known invader.
221. F.G. Elliott to C.N.C., 19 May 1906, A/3/18/28 and S.N.G. Jackson to C.N.C., 31 Mar. 1898, NB/6/1/1, as well as M.E. Weale, 'The Story of Nyamazana', Hist. Mss Colln, WE/3/2/4, all credit Nyamazana with the final defeat of Chirisamhuru; widely differing versions of his death appear in references in W.A. Elliott, S.N.G. Jackson, J.W. Posselt, and the writers in A/3/18/28.
222. Weale, 'The story of Nyamazana', Hist. Mss Colln, WE3/2/4, popularized by Ranger, *Revolt*, 11-12. This version was not committed to paper until the 1930s (pers. commun. from Weale's friend, Mr Seymour-White).
223. S.N.G. Jackson to C.N.C., 31 Mar. 1898, NB/6/1/1; Mainga, *Bulozi*, 75; Liesegang, 'Nguni migrations', 321.
224. F.G. Elliott to C.N.C., 19 May 1906, A/3/18/28.
225. J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; F.G. Elliott and T.M. Thomas in A/3/18/28.

226. Ntabeni, 4, Hist. Mss Colln, WI8/1/2.
227. Cobbing, 'The Ndebele under the Khumalos', 43.
228. S.N.G. Jackson to C.N.C., 31 Mar. 1898, NB/6/1/1; Thomas, *Eleven Years*, 165; Ngungu, Hist. Mss Colln, WI8/1/1; Campbell, *Mlimo*, 85.
229. F.G. Elliott to C.N.C., 19 May 1906, A/3/18/28; F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo*, 6; Stuart to C.N.C., 16 Feb. 1906, A/3/18/28; Muhlanga and Lloyd, 'Mbava and others', 92.
230. See ibid., and Edwards, 'The Wanoe', 18.
231. T.M. Thomas to C.N.C., 16 May 1906, A/3/18/28.
232. Stuart to C.N.C., 16 Feb. 1906, A/3/18/28; F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo*, 6.
233. Pereira, 'Mappa' (1857), *Memória e Documentos*, 296; F.G. Elliott to C.N.C., 19 May 1906, A/3/18/28; *The Matabele Journals of Robert Moffat*, I, 233-4, 240-1, 368-9; Stuart to C.N.C., 16 Feb. 1906, A/3/18/28; F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo*, 6; Campbell, *Mlimo*, 103.
234. Dornan, 'Rhodesian ruins', 508; Pereira, 'Mappa' (1857), 196; Rukara, 'History', in Hist. Mss Colln, Misc/RU4/1/1; Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Bikita, 1964: Jiri-Gumunyu; J. Chapman, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa* (London, Bell and Daldy, 2 vols, 1868), I, 63.
235. Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Bikita, 1964: Jiri-Gumunyu; Fortune, 'A Rozvi text', 73; Thomas, *Eleven Years*, 339-40; *The Southern African Diaries of Thomas Leask*, 102.
236. S.N.G. Jackson to C.N.C., 31 Mar. 1898, NB/6/1/1; *The Southern African Diaries of Thomas Leask*, 114.
237. Beach, *Shona Dynastic Histories*.
238. Abraham, 'The roles of "Chaminuka" ', 35; Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Text 70 Bha.
239. Lloyd and Muhlanga, 'Mbava', 62; Marwodzi, 'The Barozwi', 90-1; Muhlanga and Lloyd, 'Mbava and others', 92-3; Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Text 105a Wza.
240. See ibid., and Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Texts 106-7 Rse; Ross, to C.N.C., 2 Dec. 1903, N/3/33/8.
241. Marwodzi, 'The Barozwi', 90-1.
242. Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Bikita, 1964: Jiri-Gumunyu; F.G. Elliott to C.N.C., 19 May 1906, A/3/18/28.
243. D.J. van der Merwe, 'Some history of the Vakaranga in the Gutu reserve', *NADA* (1936-7), XIV, 73; Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Bikita 1964: Jiri-Gumunyu.
244. Helm Report, 1891, Argief N.G. Kerk, Cape Town; N.C. Victoria to Statist, 1 July 1895, F/4/1/1; N.C. Ndanga to C.N.C., 31 Mar. 1898, N/9/1/1.
245. *Gold and Gospel*, 71; Lendy to Jameson, 25 June 1892, A/1/9/1.
246. Beach, *Shona Dynastic Histories*, Chapter 2.
247. Ibid.
248. Ibid., Chapter 3.
249. Ibid.
250. Ibid.
251. N.C. Ndanga to C.N.C., 2 Mar. 1897, N/1/1/8; Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Text 70 Bha; Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Bikita, 1965: Jiri-Gumunyu; ibid., Delin. Rep., Buhera, 1965: Chingombe.
252. N.C. Lomagundi to C.N.C., 25 Jan. 1932, S138/22, N.C. Bikita memo., n.d. [*c.*1965], Min. Intern. Affs Per/5 Jiri; N.C. Buhera to P.N.C., 15 Apr. 1958, ibid., Per/5 Chingombe, Abraham, 'The roles of "Chaminuka" ', 32.

253. N.C. Umtali to P.N.C. Manicaland, 10 Apr. 1954, 4 Oct. 1949, 6 Mar. 1961, Min. Intern. Affs Per/5 Marange; Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Texts 73 Uti, and 70 Bha.
254. See above, reference 40.
255. Ranger, *Revolt*, 44.
256. e.g. Chanaiwa, 'History of the Nhowe', 47: 'The Rozvi were the first people to be created by God. They were given the earth. They were the only people who were given the power to heal and to crown kings by God. Every Rozvi knows how to practice medicine.'
257. F.W.T. Posselt, *Mambo*, 12; Marwodzi, 'The Barozwi', 89.
258. Appendix V supplies the main facts concerning Rozvi influence in various areas. Beach, *Shona Dynastic Histories* gives the background of each Shona dynasty in question.
259. J.W. Posselt to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8; Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep. Buhera, 1965: Nerutanga and Maburutse; Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Texts 53, 55, 57, 62 Hty; Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Hartley, 1964: Mashayamombe, Chivero; Report of N.C. Mazoe, 31 Mar. 1898, N/9/1/4; Edwards to C.N.C., 13 Apr. 1898, N/3/33/8; Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Lomagundi, 1965: Nemakonde; Meaker, 'Negomo chieftainship' [*c.*1940], Min. Intern. Affs, Per/5 Negomo; ibid., Delin. Rep., Gatooma, 1966: Neuso; Stuart to C.N.C., 16 Feb. 1906, A/3/18/28; Manuel da Costa, 'Termo de Adjunto que se fez da recepção dos Enviados do Regulo Changamire' (13 Mar. 1769), *Moçambique* (1955), LXXXIV, 92; Mudenge, 'The Rozvi Empire and the *Feira* of Zumbo, 144.

CHAPTER 8

1. Mudenge, 'An identification of the Rozvi', 26-7; they were certainly called 'Kalanga' by the 1720s; Liesegang, 'New light on Venda traditions', 171.
2. Mudenge, 'The Rozvi Empire and the *Feira* of Zumbo', 326-7; Gamitto, *King Kazembe*, I, 19; Pereira, 'Mappa' (1857), *Memória e Documentos*, 296; Pacheco, *Uma Viagem*, 40.
3. Bullock, *The Mashona*, 52, 96-115; Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Hartley, 1964: Chivero, Nyamweda, Rwizi, Gora; ibid., Delin. Rep., Lomagundi, 1965: Zvimba, Chirau; ibid., Delin. Rep., Mazoe, 1965: Nyachuru, Makope; ibid., Delin. Rep., Goromonzi, 1965: Chikwaka.
4. Abraham, 'The early political history', 79, n.25.
5. Min. Intern. Affs, Delin. Rep., Lomagundi, 1965: Nemakonde, Chirau; Bullock, *The Mashona*, 110-12.
6. White, 'Some notes on the history and customs of the Urungwe district', 38-40.
7. Bocarro, 'Decade' [*c.*1631-49], *Records*, III, 356, 364-5; Bourdillon, 'Peoples of Darwin, 103-14.
8. C. Peters, *The Eldorado of the Ancients*, 102, 121; Abraham, 'The Monomotapa dynasty', 62.
9. Rennie, 'Christianity . . . among the Ndau', 85-8.
10. See above, Chapter 1, reference 19.
11. *Karl Mauch: African Explorer*, 196-203.
12. See above, Chapter 7.
13. See above, Chapters 4 and 7.
14. Beach, *Shona Dynastic Histories*, Chapter 3.

15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. See above, Chapter 7.
23. Beach, *Shona Dynastic Histories*, Chapter 3.
24. Ibid.
25. See above, Chapter 2.
26. Beach, *Shona Dynastic Histories*, Chapter 2.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid., Chapter 3.
30. See above, Chapter 7.
31. Beach, *Shona Dynastic Histories*, Chapter 4.
32. See above, Chapter 6.
33. Beach, *Shona Dynastic Histories*, Chapter 2.
34. Ibid.
35. Mtetwa, 'The "Political" and Economic History of the Duma'.
36. See above, Chapter 6.
37. Beach, *Shona Dynastic Histories*, Chapter 4.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
48. Forrestall to C.N.C., 8 Feb. 1904, N/3/33/8; Smith, 'The peoples of Southern Mozambique', 576-7.
49. Cobbing, 'The Ndebele under the Khumalos', 126-7; A.M. Ncube, 'The Venda and the Mphephu War of 1898' (Salisbury, Central Africa Historical Association Conference Paper, 1972), 5-6.
50. Beach, *Shona Dynastic Histories*, Chapter 4.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid.
53. For works that contain some or all of these assumptions, see above Chapter 7, references 21-33.
54. Morris to C.N.C., *c.*1 Jan. 1904, N/3/33/8.
55. Mtetwa, 'The "Political" and Economic History of the Duma', 268.
56. J.M. MacKenzie, 'A pre-colonial industry: The Njanja and the iron trade', *NADA* (1975), XI, ii, 200-20; Rennie, 'Christianity . . . among the Ndau', 48; Mtetwa, 'The "Political" and Economic History of the Duma', 266-9; Beach, 'The Shona economy'.
57. Pereira, 'Mappa' (1857), *Memória e Documentos*, 296.

58. NC. Chibi to C.N.C., 3 June 1899, N/9/4/3; 'Kandamakumbo' [pseud, J.R. Duncan], 'Mazariri, son of Makonese', *NADA* (1935), XIII, 21; P. Buys, 'Dagboek' (1883), Argief van die N.G. Kerk, Cape Town; M. Gelfand, *An African's Religion: The Spirit of Nyajena* (Cape Town, Juta, 1966); Aquina, 'The tribes in Victoria', 7.
59. Beach, *Shona Dynastic Histories*, Chapter 2; Mtetwa, 'The "Political" and Economic History of the Duma', 127; Rennie, 'From Zimbabwe to a Colonial chieftaincy . . . Musikavanhu'.
60. Beach, *Shona Dynastic Histories*, Chapter 4.
61. Mtetwa, 'The "Political" and Economic History of the Duma', 115-28.
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(1) Traditions

Apart from those traditions collected earlier and put in published or unpublished papers, all Shona traditions used in this book come from the University of Rhodesia History Department collection. Apart from a few collected by F. Mashasha and D. Musa, they come from my own field work. In each interview I taped the whole exchange, and Mrs Nolian Mapfumo transcribed the tapes into Shona and English. The original tapes and the edited transcripts are held in the Department of History, and may be examined there. Each transcript gives the circumstances of research in each area, the name of the guide-interpreter, the date of the interview, the name of the informant, the location of the interview and the special features of each interview. Each transcript has a standard code that includes the title of the Department, a common number series (sometimes subdivided alphabetically) and a simple three-letter code for the district in which the interview was conducted. The index to the collection may be consulted in the Department. A typical reference would be: Univ. Rhod. Hist. Dep. Text 71 Uti.

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Maps

In the maps, the following system is used: natural features, such as rivers or mountains, and territories are in CAPITALS; dynasties and places of political importance are in Normal; and archaeological cultures, linguistic groups and ethnic terms are in lower case. Five-pointed stars are trading centres, and eight-pointed stars are buildings of the Zimbabwe-Khami culture — in outline if they are atypical or abandoned. Arrows show movements into an area, but not the entire migration. Dots are mines.

Map 1, *Iron Age Cultures and the Coastal Trade Route,* shows Early Iron Age cultures (after D.W. Phillipson) in small letters with small arrows, and the reflex southern Zambezian Later Iron Age (after T.N. Huffman) in large letters with large arrows.

Map 2, *The Later Iron Age and the Zimbabwean State before c. 1450,* shows some very tentative trade routes. Note that natural features named on early maps are not invariably named on later ones.

Map 3, *The Torwa State and the Guruuswa Movements, c. 1450 1650,* gives a picture of the country at different stages within that period, according to the information available. The Mutapa state area between the Mazoe and the Umvukwe range shows an early stage, perhaps *c.* 1450, before the Mutapa expanded to take over the pre-Mutapa Karanga and Tavara areas. West and east of the state, the picture is a very general one, *c.* 1500-1600, with 'Guruuswa' movements in progress but with some Mbara still in Urungwe. The blankness of the southwest reflects our ignorance of the Torwa state, not its true importance.

Maps 4 and 5 show *The Mutapa state before and after c. 1650,* including the Budya area. The detail shown here is not repeated on the later maps.

Map 6 shows *The Plateau, c. 1650-1750.* The numbered groups in the south are: 1 Mutumbwi; 2 Nerongwe; 3 Shangashava; 4 Chivamba; 5 Cheura; 6 Chipato; 7 Negwadzi; 8 Nerombo; 9 Nechisanga; 10 Dewe; 11 Chikede; 12 Garanyanya; 13 Chadokwenda; 14 Charedza; 15 Samanga; 16 Nezvamba; 17 Ndashodzi; 18 'two Rozvi women'; 19 Macherachekata; 20 *soko* Rozvi; 21 Tezva; 22 Gwere; 23 vaSunga; 24 Neruwindi; 25

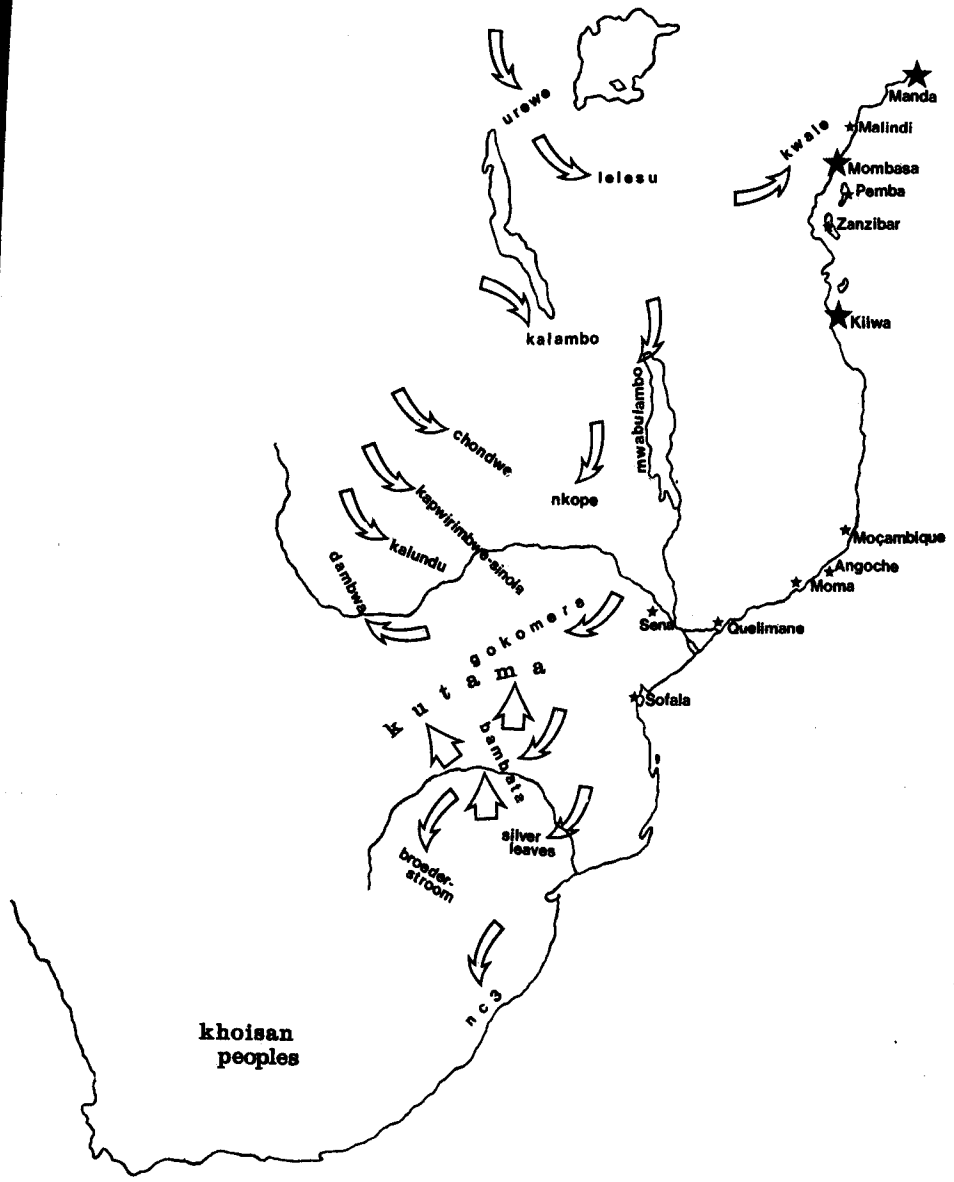
Nemumbana; 26 Mavogwe; 27 Nengare; 28 Mutove; 29 Mabvumbe; 30 Chibenge.

Map 7 shows *The Plateau, c. 1750-1800.* Broad arrows indicate the wide-ranging character of Hiya raids, and the piecemeal nature of the Manyika colonization of Inyanga.

Map 8 shows *The Plateau, c. 1800-1850.* The movements of Nguni groups in the *mfecane* are too complex to be shown here.

Map 9 shows *The Venda before and after the Singo conquest.* The preSingo dynasties under the Thovela state are shown in small letters and the major houses of the Singo under Thoho-ya-ndou in large letters.

Map 10 shows *The City Plan of Zimbabwe,* after T.N. Huffman.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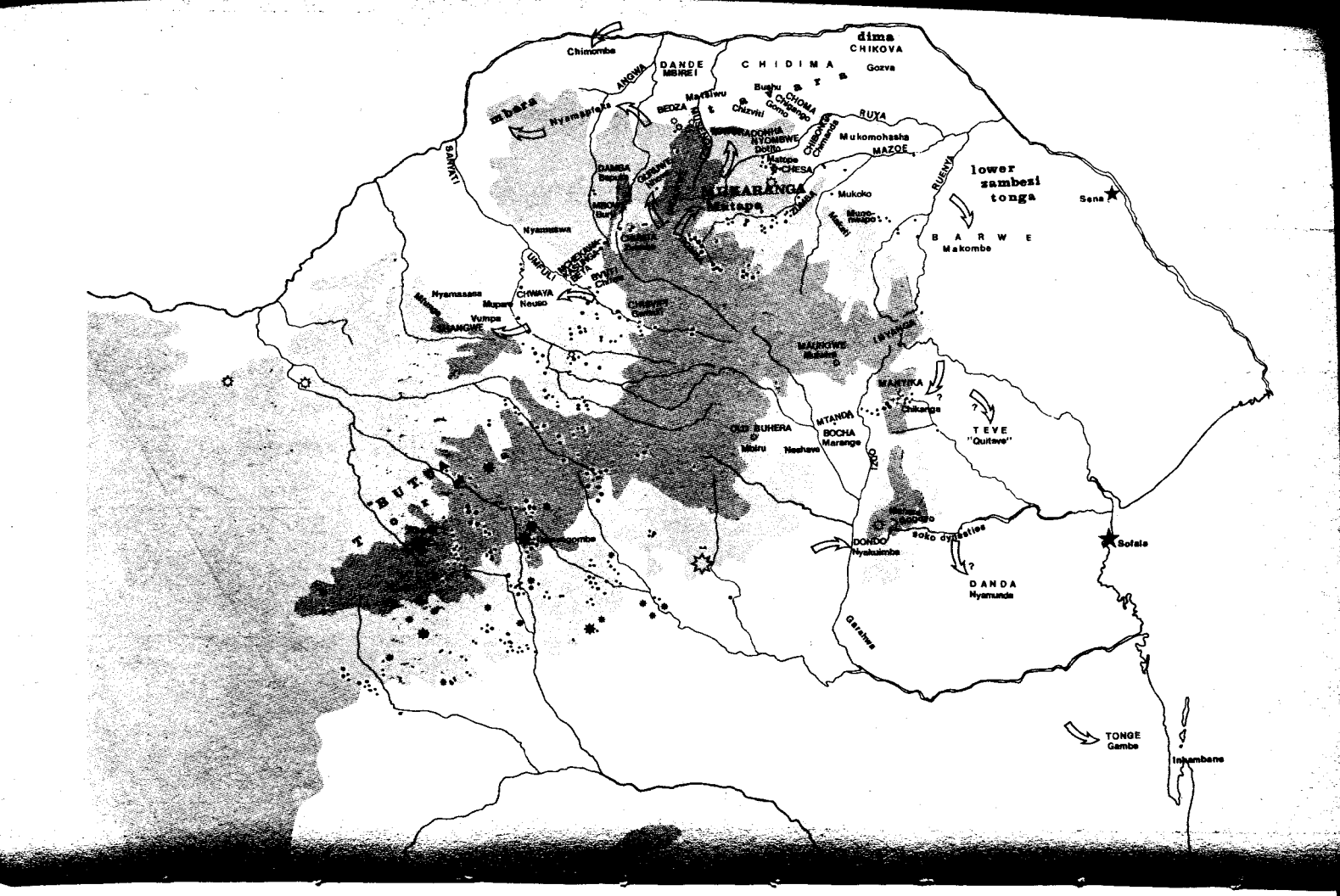
ZAMBEZI
KALAHARI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Matope
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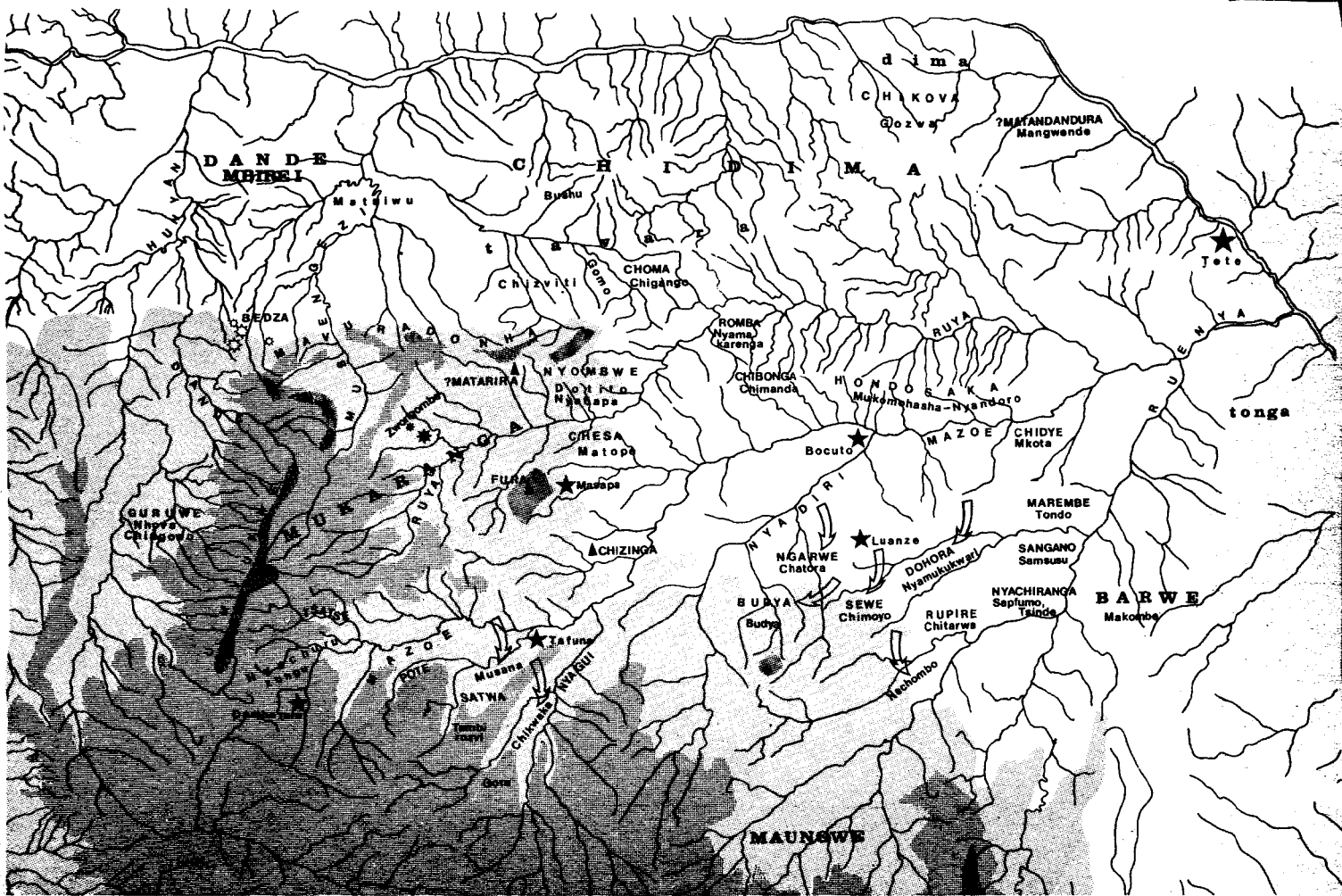
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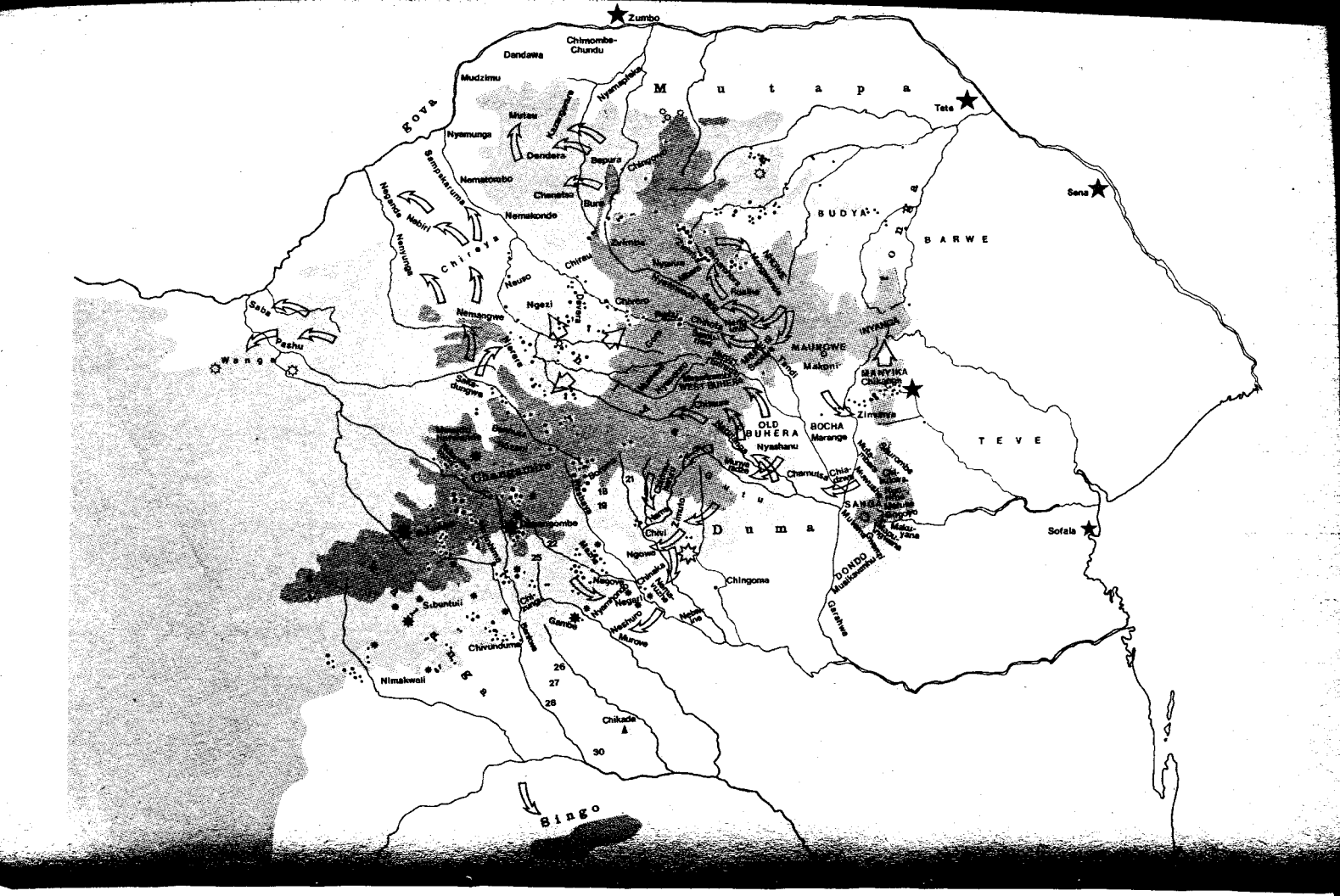
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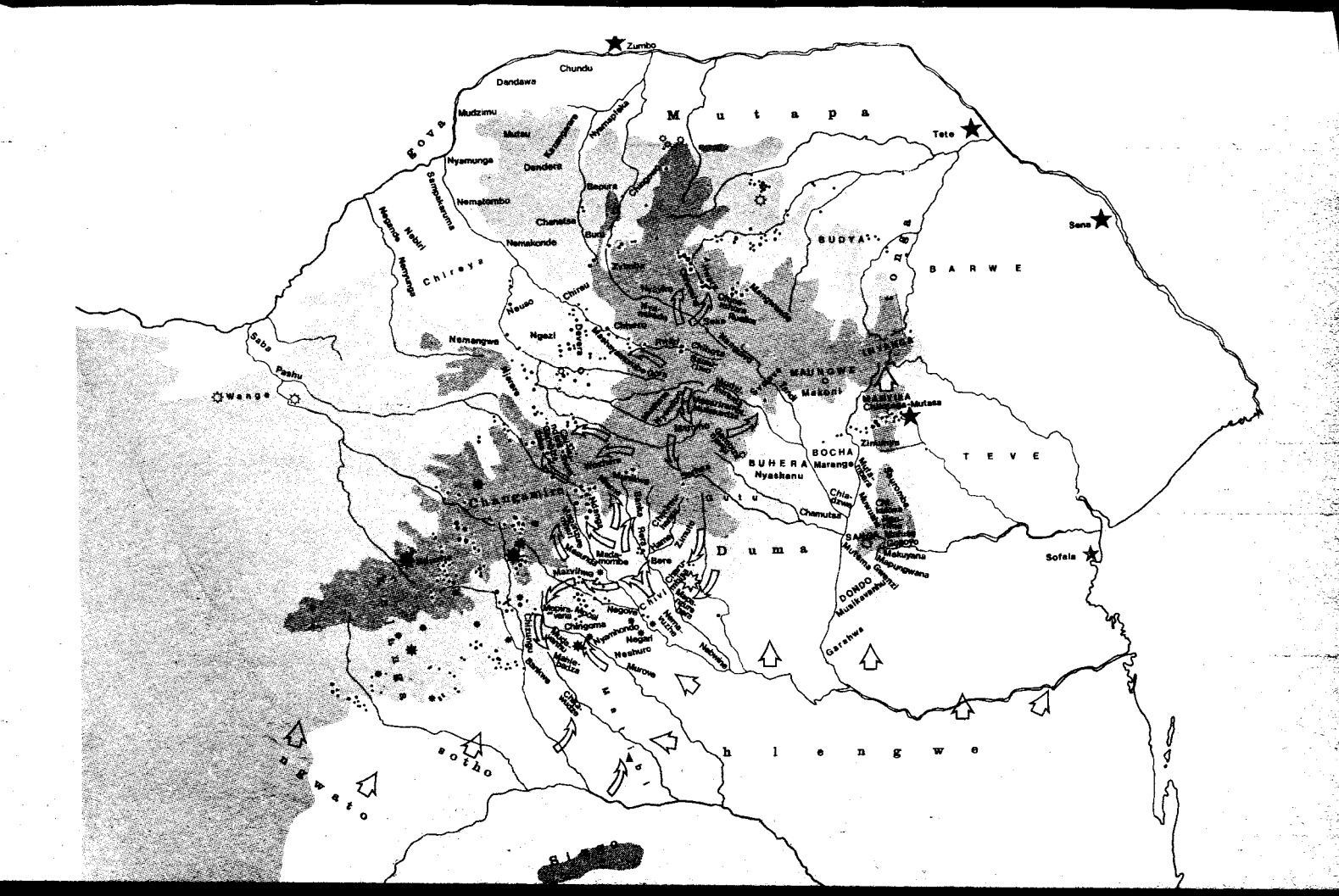
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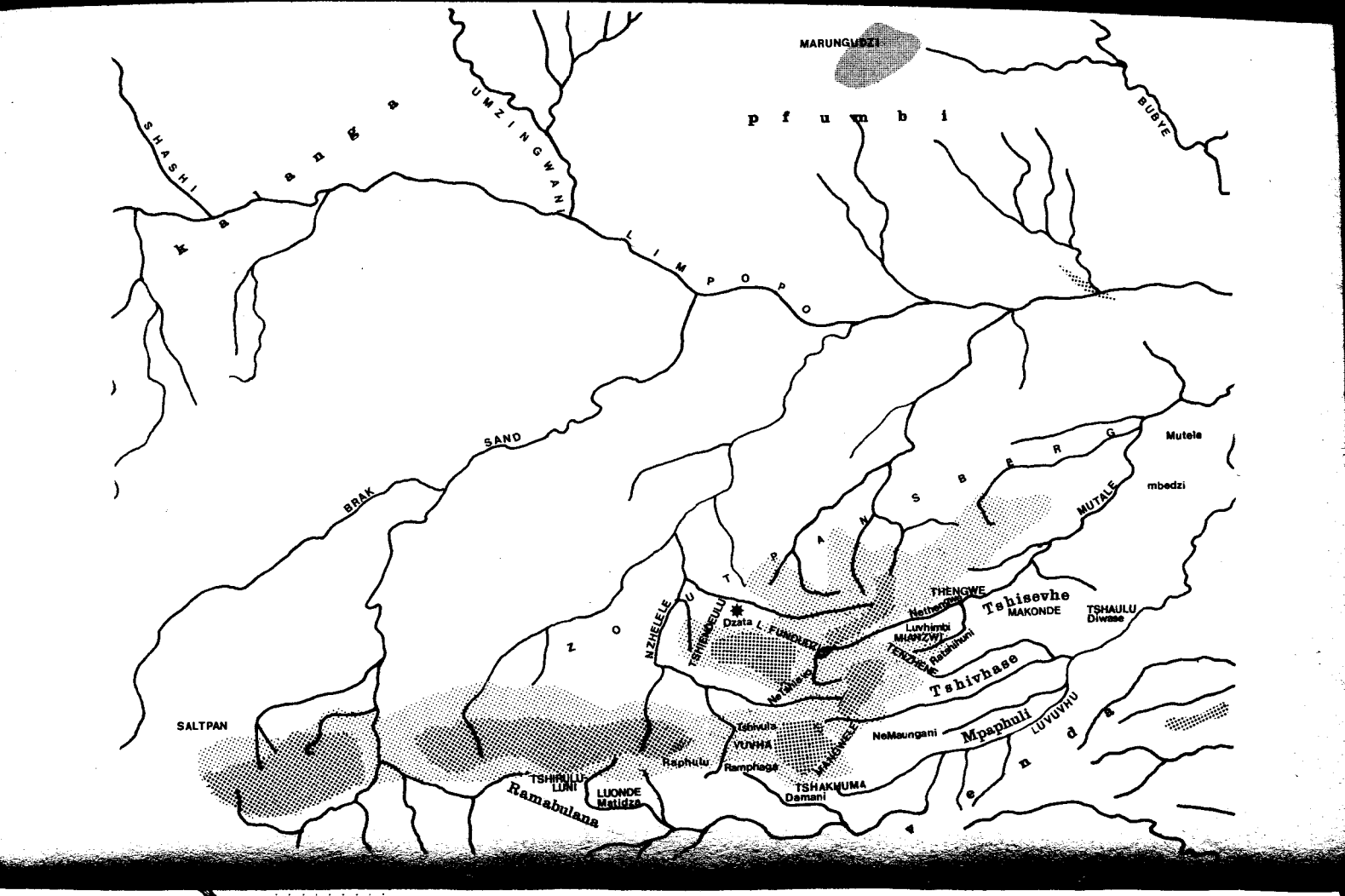
MARUNGUDZI
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TSHAULU
Diwase
Tshisevhe
Tshivhase
Mpaphuli
LUVUVHU
NeMaungani
Dzata
L. FUNDUDZI
Raphulu
YUVHA
Ramphaga
TSHAKHUMA
Damani
TSHIPULULU
LUNI
LUONDE
Matidza
Ramabulana

DAVID BEACH has lived in Zimbabwe for over twenty years, and has spent almost half that time working on the history of the Shona, turning in 1972 from the Shona in the late nineteenth century to their early history. He graduated from Cape Town, received his doctorate from London in 1971 and became first a Research Fellow and is now a Senior Lecturer at the University of Zimbabwe.